

THE
LITERARY MAGAZINE,
AND
AMERICAN REGISTER.

No. 51.

DECEMBER, 1807.

VOL. VIII.

CONTENTS.

	<i>page</i>		<i>page</i>
The iron works of Swalwell	283	Garnerin's nocturnal ascension	318
Present state of commerce in books, with remarks on the love of reading, in the interior of Russia	286	Introduction of the potatoe plant into the British isles	320
The Olio	289	Description of Madras and its en- vrons	321
Omar and Fatima, or the apothecary of Ispahan	291	Literary, philosophical, commercial, and agricultural intelligence	324
M. de Chateaubriand's excursion to mount Vesuvius	301	POETRY.	
The angling party	305	Stanzas written on finding a June flower blooming in November	328
Description of Pompey's pillar and Cleopatra's needle, in Egypt	307	The widow	330
The Piedmontese sharper	ibid.	On seeing a large oak tree led from the wood	ibid.
The Melange	308	To my grandmother, on her birth- day	331
Drawing of the lottery at Naples	313	Marriages and deaths	332
Anecdotes of Linnæus	314	Weekly register of mortality in the cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore	334
Account of the islands of Juan Fer- nandez and Masa Fuero, in the Pacific ocean	315		

PHILADELPHIA,

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY T. AND G. PALMER,

NO. 116, HIGH STREET.

1807.

LITERARY MAGAZINE

AMERICAN READER

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THE IRON WORKS OF SWALWELL.

From Notes taken at Swalwell, near Newcastle on Tyne, in September, 1793.

AT Swalwell, and at the adjacent villages of Winlaton, and Winlaton Mills, is carried on an iron manufactory, conducted in a very singular manner. These places form a kind of independent republic, that, without violating the laws, exists almost without their assistance—a species of imperium in imperio, of which Ambrose Crowley, about the beginning of this century, was, at once, the founder and the legislator. From the profession of a common smith, he raised himself to the importance I have mentioned. The works which he established have descended with increasing prosperity to his heirs, and his laws still continue to regulate their operations, under the auspices of Crowley, Millington, and Co. These gentlemen principally reside in London, where their great warehouse in Thames-street still exhibits for its sign the leathern doublet of Ambrose Crowley.

This and the rest of our information we collected from one who had

served the company for forty years, being the oldest master workman in the place. The business, he informed us, was conducted by agents or clerks, who were the repositories and administrators of the laws of Crowley. To transact the business of the company, they hold a general council every Thursday, and a select committee every Monday; and, for the double purpose of issuing general orders to the artificers, and of deciding the differences which arise between the workmen, they are erected into a court, which is held at Winlaton once in every period of ten weeks.

The bench is composed of the principal clerks, assisted by the clergyman of Winlaton, which is a chapel of ease to the neighbouring parish of Whickham, and where duty is performed at the expence of the company. To these are added four governors, or popular magistrates; two of whom are elected by the workmen of Winlaton, and the other two respectively

by those of Swalwell and Winlaton Mills.

It is by virtue of a summons from one of these officers that a defendant appears with his witnesses to answer the attested allegations of a plaintiff. But whether the testimony is received upon oath, we could not learn; nor, what is much more extraordinary, could our host inform us if causes were heard and determined immediately by the bench, or by the intervention of a jury; for, by that species of negligence, which is the ruin of political constitutions, this man had wrought for forty years under the company, and had never once had the curiosity to attend a court before which he was every day liable to be called. In this space of time, however, if there *had* been a jury, he would have found the information which he did not seek; for it is very improbable that he should never have been summoned to perform that duty, or that he should never have heard of those who were, especially as he was a man of considerable property, and could even boast of having been offered a governorship, a place not only of honour and emolument, but perpetual, for which the candidate, according to his expression, canvassed like a parliament-man.

But however this be, the sentence of the court, pronounced by the president or chief clerk, is decisive in cases of debt, assault, speculation, abusive language, &c., and probably in all cases where the uncalled interference of the laws of the realm does not supersede the jurisdiction of this bench; for Crowley, aware of the ruinous expences and fraudulent prolongation of suits at law, punished with an absolute discharge those litigious spirits who would not acquiesce in the equity of their own courts.

Thus careful to protect his men against extortion from without, he was no less vigilant in securing them from the arts of each other. A publican, therefore, in the court of Crowley, could have no remedy for debt, because he might be sus-

pected of having lent the money, not through any impulse of benevolence, but of having offered it in the moment of indiscretion, and in the hope of seeing it employed in the purchase of his commodities; and if he prosecuted the suit at common law, he was immediately discharged.

Other debts, and the amercements awarded by the court, are levied by a tax upon the wages. By the trifling contribution, too, of a farthing upon every shilling earned by the workmen, the old and the disabled, the widow and the orphan, are preserved from want; and this is one of the few manufactories in Britain that is not regarded by its parish with an eye of malignancy. Economy, however, is well observed in the administration of this eleemosinary fund; for when those who were wont to be exercised in laborious employment are disabled by accident, or rendered incapable by age, they are appointed by the agents to the performance of less arduous functions, where they enjoy repose, without the reflection of dependance; nor is age rendered only comfortable in itself, but happy in the prospect of its instructed offspring, who are taught reading, writing, and accounts, at the expence of the company.

Here, however, I cannot help remarking an error in the conduct of the proprietors, who suffer their pedagogue to make terms with the parents of children that belong not to the works; and thus, at the time we visited the factory, his attention was divided among more than a hundred pupils. This number no longer appeared extraordinary when we were informed that not less than a thousand men were employed in this manufactory; of this number, excepting those who were employed at the founderies, the forges, and the warehouses, each pursued his own avocation at his own home; for here every separate article of manufacture is sufficient to afford exclusive employment to one, and often to many

men. By this means they acquire a celerity and adroitness far surpassing the dexterity of those whose attention is divided by a multiplicity of objects; and, as the workmen are paid by the piece, this power of execution is always preserved in activity. A boy, whom we saw fabricating a chain, made a link from a bar of iron, and added it to the rest, in less than one minute; for even boys here are urged to sedulity by an equitable recompence for their labours.

Corporation tyranny has not yet taught the successors of Crowley to exact from a man the labour of his youth, for teaching him an art that may be learnt in his infancy. Here boys work for some time before they are bound to an apprenticeship; but when engaged, either to the company or an individual, they receive a regular stipend, and at the end of their term either commence business themselves, or engage as journeymen with others. Indeed, what they call apprentices, seem to be only journeymen, engaged for a particular term: thus our informant had a man about 25 years of age, whom he had instructed in his business of hammer-making, and had afterwards engaged, under the name of an apprentice, to serve him for seven years, at a salary of 10s. 6d. per week. He employed several others at the same salary, he discharging to the company their poors'-farthings, and the company paying him for their work by the piece.

Our informant, like many other mastermen, frequently suffered his account with the company to remain unsettled for some months, only depositing his work in a general warehouse, where a regular account is kept, and an order on the pay-office is given according to the claims of each. But this order is not the only certificate which is requisite to the passing an account at that office. A shop is kept by the company, where workmen may be supplied with common necessities on the credit of their labour and the

surety of their friends. Though the commodities here are as good in their kind and as cheap as at other places of sale, the resort of the dependants is entirely a matter of choice. The institution seems to have been calculated to preserve those who were destitute of ready money from the fraud of the pawnbroker and the extortion of the shopkeeper. It is, probably, the knowledge of this circumstance, which induces the more substantial artificers to buy in other markets, and which made our host solicitous to inform us that he never frequented the shop. As no one, however, is excluded from the advantage, no account can be passed at the pay-office till signed by the agent at the shop.

We were enabled to form some idea of the importance of this extensive manufacture, when we were informed that not less than five and sometimes 600*l.* are issued from this office every week. Within the limits of our informant's recollection, which comprised a period of at least forty years, the price of articles to the workmen had neither increased nor diminished, except in a very few particulars. The number of manufacturers too was not supposed to have altered, though the demand for the goods of the factory had increased. That the demand for labour should increase, whilst the number of hands remained the same, and the prices unaugmented, was a paradox that appeared to subvert every principle of economics, till we reflected, that the equilibrium might have been preserved by the increase of improvement of machinery, and the skill acquired by subdivisions of labour. A tilt hammer, in particular, we were told, had been lately erected at Winlaton Mills, of which the strokes were 520 in one minute.

The machinery at this place, as well as at the forging hammers and slitting mill at Swalwell, are amply supplied with water by the river Derwent; nor are they but very rarely impeded by the tide,

which conducts to the doors of the factory the materials of their work. This navigation, however, extends not beyond Swalwell: where, therefore, is the foundery, the anchor manufactory, and others of a heavy kind, whilst the lighter articles are fabricated at Winlaton and Winlaton Mills. They have no furnaces here to separate the iron from the ore, and they cannot even forge sufficient from what is called pig-iron to supply the artificers, but import very large quantities in bars from the Baltic. The very sand employed to form the moulds at the foundery is brought from no less a distance than Highgate.

From viewing the works we went to visit the warehouse, where was quantity sufficient to astonish, and variety to amuse and inform. Here we were shown many instruments, of which we before knew not the existence; and, among the rest, one which suggested to our minds a striking contrast with the benevolence we had just witnessed in the institutions of Crowley. This was the head of a hoe, weighing four pounds, and intended for the use of the negroes in the sultry climate of the West Indies; and this, too, we were told, was not the largest of its kind.

It is not very probable that they who thus impose on their fellow-creatures the yoke of real wretchedness, should show themselves indulgent to their imaginary scruples; or that they, who appear to have stifled the voice of conscience in their own bosoms, should attentively listen to its most fanciful dictates in another; yet were we assured, that the lamp-black and hard pitch with which we saw the old men employed, in besmearing the tools of the Europeans, to preserve them from rust, was never applied to those of the negroes, who would work only with polished instruments. Grindstones, we found, accompanied the implements exported to either Indies, for the tools were left unfinished in the edge, that less injury might

be apprehended from the accidents of package and conveyance.

Among these, the singular form of the logwood axes attracted our notice. They were made (except in the aperture for the handle) exactly to resemble a wedge, of which the edge and the back were equally tempered, so that if one stuck in the wood, it was employed as a wedge, and, as they always work with two, a second was applied as a mallet. Cannon does not form an article of their stores or manufacture, except being employed as old metal, to be refluxed and converted into the more harmless implements of agriculture or culinary arts. Old anchors, too, we saw collected in great numbers, but these are more easily renewable into their old form (being entirely made by the hand and the hammer) than converted to any other purpose. The business of an anchor-smith seems to be one of the most important in the factory; we saw one, of which the number was marked 8,241, and the weight 8 cwt. 2 qrs. 20 hd., but learned that some were manufactured to the weight of 70 or 80 cwt., which might be easily credited from the specimens that lay around us.

Great as were the works which we had seen, we were yet surprised that we did not see more; for the quantity of waste iron must be so great, and the expence of its removal so considerable, that the erection of copperas-works seemed a measure of obvious emolument. The company, however, are contented to dispose of the materials, and leave to others the profit of the work.

For the Literary Magazine.

PRESENT STATE OF COMMERCE
IN BOOKS, WITH REMARKS ON
THE LOVE OF READING, IN
THE INTERIOR OF RUSSIA.

From the "Messenger of Europe:" published at Moscow.

TWENTY years ago, there were but two bookseller's shops in Moscow,

whose returns did not amount to ten thousand roubles a year. At present, the number of shops is augmented to twenty, and their yearly return, altogether, is about 200,000 roubles. This striking increase of readers, in Russia, cannot fail of gratifying all who value the progress of human understanding; and, who know that a disposition for literary research is pre-eminently efficacious in facilitating that progress.

Mr. Novikow has been the principal promoter of the trade and circulation of books in Moscow. Having rented the printing-office of the university of that city, he augmented the mechanical means of printing, procured translations of foreign books, established libraries in other towns, and endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to make reading an object of desire to the public, by studying and anticipating the general, as well as the individual taste. He traded in books, as a rich English or Dutch merchant does in the produce of all countries: with intelligence, speculation, and foresight. Formerly, not above 600 copies of Moscow newspapers were sold: Mr Novikow enriched their contents; to their political information he added several other departments, and, at length, accompanied them, *gratis*, with a work, which he denominated the *Juvenile Seminary* (Dietskoe Uchilishtze): the novelty of subjects, and variety of matters comprized in this appendage, notwithstanding the boyish translation of some pieces, greatly pleased the public. The number of subscribers increased yearly, and, in ten years, amounted to 4000. Since the year 1797, the gazettes became important to Russia, by containing the imperial decrees and political intelligence; at present the sale of Moscow papers amounts to 8000 copies, which, though inconsiderable for so extensive a metropolis, is ample when compared to what it was formerly. In fact there is scarcely any country where the number of the inquisitive has increased with such rapidity. It is true,

that there are still many gentlemen, in good circumstances, who do not take in the news-papers; but then a number of merchants and tradesmen delight in perusing them. The poorest among the people subscribe to a reading; and even those who can neither read nor write are desirous of knowing *how matters go in foreign countries*. An acquaintance of mine, seeing several pastry-cooks assembled together, and listening with great attention to the description of an engagement between the French and the Austrians, found, on enquiry, that five of them joined in subscribing for the paper, and that, four not being able to read, the remaining one made out the intelligence as well as he could, and the rest listened to him.

The Russian trade in books is certainly not equal to that of Germany, France, or England; but what may not time produce, if its progressive increase continues unimpeded? In most provincial towns there are now libraries established; every fair exhibits with other goods the riches of literature; and on these occasions the Russian women generally furnish themselves with a good stock of books. Traders or pedlars formerly travelled from place to place with rings and ribbons; now they take an assortment of *literature*; and, though few of them can read, they relate, by way of recommendation, the contents of their romances and comedies, in a manner peculiar to themselves: simple, eccentric, and amusing. I know several country gentlemen whose incomes may not exceed 500 roubles per annum, who collect their little libraries, as they call them; and, while the luxurious carelessly throw aside, at random, the costly editions of Voltaire or Buffon, they suffer not the least particle of dust to rest on the adventures of Miramond*:

* A romance by Emon, in the Grecian hero style, which, notwithstanding the slight manner in which it is mentioned here, as a romance, does considerable credit to Russian literature.

they peruse their collections with avidity, and re-peruse them with new satisfaction.

The reader may wish to know what sort of books are in the greatest demand? I put this question to many of the booksellers, and they replied, without hesitation, "romances:" this, however, need not excite our wonder. Romance is a species of composition, that is commonly interesting to the greater part of the public; it occupies the mind, and engages the heart, by exhibiting a picture of the world, and of men, like ourselves, in critical and interesting situations, and by describing the most common, but the most powerful passion of love, in its various effects. Not every one can fancy himself the hero of history; but every one has loved, or wishes to love, and, therefore, in the hero of a romance, speaking the language of his own heart, he traces himself. One tale possesses something to direct a reader's hope; another excites pleasing recollection. In this species of literature, we have more translations than original productions; consequently, foreign authors engross all the glory. Kotzebue is in great vogue! and, as the booksellers of Paris demanded, at one time, *Persian letters* from all writers, so the Russians, from every translator, and even authors, demand Kotzebue! nothing but Kotzebue! Romance, fable, tale, good or bad, it matters not, provided the title bears the name of the great Kotzebue.

I do not know what others think, but, as for myself, I am glad, if the people do but read. Romances above mediocrity, or below it, even if destitute of talent, tend, in some measure, to promote civilization. He who is charmed with *Nicanor*, *the Unfortunate Gentleman**, is one degree lower than the author, on the scale of liberal and mental improvement, and, whatever may be the ideas and expressions of such a

work, he will, undoubtedly, learn something from them.

Every pleasing lecture has more or less influence on the understanding, because, without this, the heart could not feel, nor imagination conceive. In the very worst romances, or novels (morals apart), there is a certain degree of logic and rhetoric: he who has read them will be able to speak better, and with more connection, than an illiterate boor who never opened a book in his life. Besides, modern romances abound in various kinds of knowledge. An author, to fill up several volumes, is obliged to have recourse to all methods, and almost all sciences: now he describes some American island, exhausting *Busching*; now he explains the nature of plants and vegetables, consulting *Bomare*; so that a reader forms some acquaintance, not only with geography, but with natural history. I am persuaded that in certain German novels, the new planet, *Piazz*, will be more circumstantially described than in the Petersburg newspaper. They do not altogether judge rightly, who think romances have a natural tendency to corrupt morals: many of them lead to some moral result. True, the characters are often vicious, even while attractive; but in what consists that attraction? in some good qualities, with which the author endeavours to colour or abate the blackness of others. What is the kind of romance that pleases most? not excess of guilt, or outrageous violation of moral feeling; but, in general, affecting appeals to sensibility. Tears shed by readers usually flow from sympathy with the good, and tend to nourish that sympathy. The rugged and stubborn soul receives not the gentle impression of affection; nor can it feel interested in the fate of tenderness. Bad men will not read romances. Can an egotist, or the base slave of avarice, fancy himself to be the generous captivating hero of romance? No; he cares not for others. Undoubtedly, romances tend to render the heart and imagi-

* A Russian original romance of no great merit.

nation *romantic*; but what harm ensues? so much the better for the inhabitants of the icy iron-north. The causes of those evils, of which we hear general complaints, certainly, are not *romantic* hearts; but those hardened ones which are directly opposite. A *romantic* heart afflicts itself more than others; doats on its own afflictions, and will not abandon them for all the sottish enjoyments of an egotist. On the whole, it is well that our public reads; although the subjects which it prefers be romances.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE OLIO.

NO. VII.

Gentleness of Manners.

GENTLENESS corrects whatever is offensive in our manners; and, by a constant train of humane attentions, studies to alleviate the burden of common misery. Its office, therefore, is extensive. It is not, like some other virtues, called forth only on particular occasions or emergencies, but is continually in action, when we are engaged in intercourse with men.

It will be well, however, not to confound this gentle wisdom, which is from above, with that artificial courtesy, that studied smoothness of manners, which is taught by the world. Such accomplishments, the most empty and frivolous may possess. That gentleness which is the characteristic of every good man has, like every other virtue, its seat in the heart: and, it may be added, nothing except what flows from the heart can render even external manners truly pleasing; for no assumed behaviour can at all times hide the real character. In that unaffected civility which springs from a gentle mind, there is a charm infinitely more powerful than in all

the studied manners of the most finished courtier.

Attacked by great injuries, the man of mild and gentle spirit will feel what human nature feels, and will defend and resent, as his duty allows him. But to slight provocations, and offences from frivolous persons, which are the most common causes of disquiet, he is happily superior. Inspired with higher sentiments; taught to regard with an indulgent eye the frailties of men, the omissions of the careless, the follies of the imprudent, and the levity of the greater number, he retreats into the calmness of his spirit, as into an undisturbed sanctuary; and quietly allows the usual current of life to hold its course.

The Obstructions of Learning.

So many hindrances may obstruct the acquisition of knowledge, that there is little reason for wondering it remains possessed by so few. To the greater part of mankind, the duties of life are inconsistent with much study, and the hours they would give to letters must be stolen from their occupations and families. Yet, it is the great excellence of learning, that it borrows very little from time or place; for it is not confined to season or climate, to cities or the country, but may be cultivated and enjoyed where no other pleasure can be obtained. But this quality, which constitutes much of its value, is one occasion of its neglect; what may be done at all times with equal propriety, is deferred from day to day, till the mind is gradually reconciled to the omission, and the attention is turned to other objects. Thus habitual idleness gains too much power to be conquered; and the mind shrinks from the idea of intellectual labour and intenseness of meditation.

Let not the youthful imagine that the time and valuable opportunities lost in youth can be easily recalled at will. The only sure way to make

any proficiency in a useful and virtuous life is to set out early, *nor weary on the way.*

It may be considered as a sure indication of good sense, to be diffident of possessing it. We then, and not till then, are growing wise, when we begin to discern how weak and unwise we are. An absolute perfection of understanding is impossible: *he* makes the nearest approaches to it, who has the sense to discern, and the humility to acknowledge its imperfections. Some are fond of attaining, and apt to value themselves for, any proficiency in the sciences; one science there is, however, of more worth than all the rest: the science of living in such a manner as not to be afraid to die.

Gratitude.

In a letter from a gentleman to a lady. Written in the sixteenth century.

There is a French saying, madam, that courtesies and favours are like flowers, which are sweet only while they are fresh, but afterwards quickly fade and wither. I cannot deny but your favours to me might be compared to some sort of flowers, and surely the posie would be far from a small one; and I will suppose them of the flower called *life everlasting*; or of that pretty vermillion flower which grows at the foot of the mountain Etna, which never loses any thing of its first colour and perfume. For, believe me, madam, those favours you did me thirty years ago are as fresh to the eye of my mind, as if done yesterday. Nor would it be wrong to compare the courtesies done me to other flowers, as I use them: for I distil them in the limbec of my memory, and so turn them to essences.

On Peace.

Peace is the ultimate wish of all

good men; for, however we wish to exercise our faculties in acquiring knowledge, riches, or honour, we all look forward to a state of peace and tranquillity, in which alone, we think, we can enjoy them. In this happy state it is, that the mechanic hopes to rest from his incessant labours, the merchant expects to enjoy his riches, the soldier to be secure from toils and dangers, and the statesman to lay aside his anxious cares. So agreeable to the mind of man is a state of tranquillity, that most of the poets of antiquity have supposed this state existed, originally, when man was first created; and was insensibly changed to a worse, as men grew depraved. Hence the poetical descriptions of the golden age, the silver age, the brazen age, and the iron age; which last is *always* supposed to be the *present age*. Peace gives the human faculties liberty to expand themselves, and has been generally termed the nurse of arts. For when a nation enjoys a state of peace, it generally rises to improvements of every kind.

But, however desirable peace may be, if accompanied by virtue, it is very often productive of almost as many evils as war. The riches acquired in a time of peace are apt to give a taste for luxury and prodigality, and to lead to profligacy. The quiet and ease men enjoy by peace have a tendency to make them careless and indolent; dispositions which put them off their guard, and render them liable to every vice. Nay, peace may be said naturally to generate war. Security is the parent of self-sufficiency, self-sufficiency of insolence, and insolence of litigation; thus peace, the most desirable thing on earth, by the depravity of man, who is not sufficiently virtuous to bear it, becomes, in the end, productive of the most dreadful scourge of human nature, a state of war. Therefore it may be concluded, that without religion and virtue, no state can afford true enjoyment; and that the best things on earth, if not properly enjoyed,

will but too often be productive of the worst of evils.

—
Sonnet to Patience.

A suppliant, lo, of Sorrow's sable train
To thee, O Patience, forms this
humble prayer:

O teach my heart those trials to sustain

Which unrelenting Fate dooms it
to bear.

Teach me to bend submissive to that
power

Who could this sickly, pond'rous
weight remove,
Could chase afar this more than
gloomy hour,

And heal my woes with beatific
love.

Nor let me murmur at his wise de-
crees,

Though griefs accumulating still
should fall;

Though wormwood's cup be poured
from the lees,

Do thou support me, and I'll drink
it all:

Nay, more, I'll smile on the unpledg-
ed glass,

Since it is destined none from me
shall pass.

—
There is but one way of fortifying
the soul against all gloomy presages
and terrors of mind; which is
by securing to ourselves the friend-
ship and protection of that Being
who disposes of events, and governs
futurity.

—
For the Literary Magazine.

OMAR AND FATIMA; OR, THE
APOTHECARY OF ISPAHAN.

A Persian Tale.

(Concluded from page 64.)

WHEN the heart is at ease, a
man is very apt to look out of him-
VOL. VIII. NO. LI.

self. This was the case of Dr. Na-
dir. He ordered his carriage to
stop first at the house of Abud,
whom he cordially forgave for not
swallowing the emetic, though he
was privately of opinion that he had
never been well since his refusal.
From him he proceeded to pay other
visits of ceremony; was then set
down at the imperial coffee-house
in the Meydan. Here he took a
glass of sherbet, and listened with
great attention to some persons that
were settling the disputes betwixt
the European powers and some of
the Indian princes, which they
seemed to do with great facility,
and much to their own satisfaction.

When he had collected what he
deemed a *quantum sufficit* of poli-
tics, he ordered his carriage home,
entered his house with great good
humour, found his dinner excellent,
sent his lovely patient her medi-
cines, took his coffee, smoked his
pipe with great composure, and re-
tired to rest in that harmony of
spirits which success that we attri-
bute to our superior intelligence of
mind, or superior skill, is sure to
create.

"May balmy sleep hover over
the couch of the benevolent Dr. Na-
dir."

Toward the conclusion of the elab-
orate work from which we have
extracted many particulars, we find
this exclamation of the sage of Zul-
pha; which, as appears in the
next line, was not efficacious; for,
though the daughter of Morpheus
did attend the learned doctor to his
couch, and in reality went to bed
with him, he had scarcely folded
the nymph in his arms, when sever-
al knocks at his door, loud and vio-
lent as if his mansion had been as-
sailed by the ancient battering ram,
which is now viewed as an object of
curiosity at the gate of the arsenal,
obliged him to rise. He threw on
his clothes as fast as possible, saying
to himself, "Some great omrah,
perhaps the sophy, is suddenly tak-
en ill. My fame has reached his
ears: he will suffer no one to ad-
minister to him except myself. My

rest is certainly broken ; but this is a tax to which exalted genius is, in my profession, liable."

By this time the attendant slaves had reached his chamber. "Who is it that occasions this disturbance?" said Nadir.

"Tamas, the black eunuch with the white beard," returned the slaves.

"Tamas! what, is he at the point of death?"

"At the point of death! no! praise be to Alla! I never was better in my life!" cried Tamas.

"Your lady?"

"I know nothing of her! All that I know is, that the noble Mirza, who seems to vibrate betwixt grief and rage, ordered me and other slaves to fly instantly for you."

"Ah!" said Nadir, "another relapse! Well, I will attend you."

A few minutes conveyed the learned doctor into the presence of the omrah Mirza, who darted at him the moment he entered the apartment, and catching him by the throat with one hand, while he pointed at him a dagger with the other, said, "Wretch! pander! execrable miscreant! prepare to expiate my wounded honour! To redress the wrongs of Mirza is impossible! all that can now be done is for him to revenge them!"

Surprise in many cases has been known to extort confession; but none of those were like this of Mirza and Nadir. The latter being armed with that kind of fortitude which arises from conscious innocence, had nothing to fear: he therefore bore this shock with great equanimity. Quick as lightning he caught the armed hand of the omrah; and, while he considered himself as in some degree master of the dagger, he attempted to reason with him; but reason and the father of Zulima seemed to have separated. He raved like a maniac; loaded the placid physician with the most opprobrious epithets; and, in conclusion, asked him, "If he did not know one Ismael?"

"Perfectly well!" replied Nadir,

with great coolness: "he is the most beautiful youth in Ispahan, and has lodged with me all the time he has been in the city."

"There! there! there!" exclaimed Mirza, in the utmost emotion: "a confession! a confession! you know every thing that concerns him!"

"Not entirely!" continued the provokingly placid doctor: "I only know that his father is a diamond merchant and jeweller at Golconda, and that he is in the possession of immense riches."

"A jeweller?" cried Mirza: "I shall go distracted! What, then, is Zulima! the descendant of the ancient Sophys! the lost, degraded Zulima! in love with a jeweller? and thou, wretch! the pander! go-between! * * * expiate thy crimes with thy life!"

At this instant the omrah extricated his hand, and aimed a blow with the dagger at the physician; which, if he had not had the good fortune to parry, would certainly have put a stop to his future practice.

Nadir now thought that the affair became serious, and called loudly for help. Mirza, in the extremity of rage, once more assailed him. Some slaves, who in the confusion had entered, ranged on the side of their lord; and there is no question but the next blow would have been fatal to the physician, had not Apollo (who had just peeped from his golden chamber, and observing the situation of one of his votaries), sent to his assistance a youth beautiful as Ismael or himself, who rushed betwixt the assailants and the doctor, who now stood like a *patient*, and catching the hand of the omrah, as it was descending toward the heart of Nadir, exclaimed, in the most terrific accents, "Merciful Alla! must I have the misfortune at my return, to behold, as the first object, my noble father, surrounded by his slaves, attempting to murder a man unarmed!"

The dagger was at this instant dashed against the ground.

"Omar!" exclaimed Mirza (the youth was on his knees), "when did you arrive?"

"Past the midnight hour!" said Omar, rising. "The officer who guards the postern, to whom I am well known, offered to admit me, and my eagerness to receive the blessing of my father induced me to avail myself of his friendly indulgence. But what do I see? What is the meaning of these emotions? My sister! is she well? If any one has injured the person or family of Mirza, my scymitar is ready to revenge it!"

"Let all the slaves leave the room!" cried Mirza; which order was instantly obeyed. He then continued: "I have, my son, received an injury which absorbs every other sensation, and hinders me even from feeling as I ought the blessing of your return in safety. Every emotion of joy and thankfulness which this indulgence of our prophet ought to excite, is sunk in my bosom, is repressed by reflection upon the horror of the present moment. Behold that man! that apothecary! that indigent wretch! whom, in opposition to the faculty of Ispahan, I have made a doctor!"

"What of him?" said Omar.

"Every thing that is vile and wicked! Zulima! the lovely Zulima! your sister, was distracted, and he administered to her. I placed the greatest confidence in him, but he abused it. How? you are prepared to ask. Horrid as the accusation is, I will inform you. This caitiff, forgetful of the obligations which he had to me, and in defiance of the decrees of our holy prophet, and the customs of our country, has introduced a man into my haram!"

"Who did this?" exclaimed Nadir, in the utmost astonishment.

"Bold and detestable wretch!" exclaimed Mirza, "thou didst this! Oh, noble Omar! this vile miscreant! (I blush even when I inform my son), this contemner and contaminator of virtue! has introduced to the lovely, but lost and

abandoned, Zulima, a youth of the name of Ismael, the son of a jeweller at Bagnagar, the capital of Golconda, where our army once was stationed!"

"I know the place well," said Omar.

"This," cried Nadir, "is too much."

"Too much, villain!" continued Mirza; "it is, indeed, too much! My heart, oh Omar! was suspended by two chords, yourself and sister. One of these is broken; for know, my son! that this Ismael! (what torture shall he not endure!) this wretch is now with Zulima! he has passed the whole night in her apartment!"

"Can this be possible?" said Omar.

"No!" returned Nadir, "it cannot be possible! it is not true! I reverence and honour the noble Mirza! I have for him the most lively sensations of gratitude! sensations which even his violence this night cannot efface! I feel also for my own honour—for the honour of my profession; and I do aver and proclaim, that all he has said of me is false! I have never but once, and then in the ebullition of grief and passion, mentioned to Ismael the name of Zulima. Nay, more, except to him, upon that one interesting occasion, I have never suffered the name of my lovely patient to escape my lips at home; nor have I ever, till this moment, acquainted you, her father, with my suspicions of the source of her disorder, which, from the transactions of this night, I should judge to be a family malady. However, I have, oh Mirza! but one course to pursue. The idea of Ismael being with Zulima is too absurd and extravagant to deserve an answer. But I must acquaint you, and I am glad that Omar is present to hear me, that although neither so high-born nor rich, I am as tenacious of my honour as any omrah or prince in Persia; as proud, if exquisite sensibility be pride, as yourself. To-morrow I shall, as far as it is in my power, re-

turn the favours I have received from you, and descend into that humble station of life from which I have emerged, and for which, perhaps, my talents only are calculated."

"What is the name of the father of Ismael?" said Omar.

"I have never been informed," returned Nadir.

"Lives he in the kingdom of Golconda?"

"At Bagnagar, the capital."

"And is this youth now with Zulima?"

"Yes!" said Mirza, "he is!"

"No!" cried Nadir, "he is not!"

"I affirm the charge!" cried the former.

"And I, more jealous of the honour of Zulima than her parent, totally deny the accusation," said the latter.

"These contradictions," observed Omar, "are only to be reconciled by our having an interview with Zulima. Her father, brother, and physician, are privileged persons, and may enter the haram."

"Let us go instantly!" cried Mirza.

"By no means!" said Nadir: "I know the state of my patient's health, and am fearful that the surprise of seeing her brother, and the shock of the accusation her father seems ready to urge against her, should produce a permanent derangement."

"This is all a subterfuge, my dear Omar!" said Mirza. "This wretch knows his guilt, and only wants to amuse us until the youth escapes!"

"As little accustomed to subterfuge as yourself, oh Mirza!" said Nadir, "while I despise, I retort the accusation. My conduct is, I hope, guided by more exalted motives than you have attributed to it; and I conceive, that the mind which could be influenced by such mean suspicions, must be equally warped and contracted."

"My noble father! and you, oh learned doctor!" cried Omar, "as this is a case capable of being proved by ocular demonstration, here

let contention cease. The hour will soon arrive when it will be allowable for us to visit the apartments of Zulima. In the mean time we will sit together; because, as I understand we mutually suspect, we shall be a mutual guard upon each other. I take it for granted, that if this Ismael is in the haram he cannot escape."

"No! that I have taken care of, unless he sinks into the earth," said Mirza.

The apartments of Persian women of the higher class are always approached, even by their nearest relations, with deference and respect.

The triumvirate (whom we stated above as determined to pay a visit to the lovely Zulima) could scarcely agree upon the mode in which it should be conducted. Dr. Nadir wished first to feel the pulse of his patient: to this her father (for reasons before stated) strongly objected. Omar, then, had a desire to have some private conversation with her: but to this the learned physician, who conceived himself injured by Mirza's suspicions, would not consent. The father then desired that he might be announced: but this the son and the doctor, who dreaded the effect of his violence upon the tender frame of the invalid, also strongly objected to. At last it was determined that they should all visit her together; and the venerable Tamas was employed to intimate the same.

"We shall soon see that the blushing culprit will either sink to the ground, or into the arms of her paramour," said Mirza.

At this instant they entered the apartment. Zulima, seated on a sofa of white satin, appeared perfectly composed, until her eyes encountered those of Omar, who had lingered behind. She flew into his arms in an instant, saying, "My dear, dear brother, returned in safety! What a happiness is this! When did you arrive?"

"Since midnight, my lovely Zulima!" replied Omar.

"My father too!" cried Zulima, attempting to take the hand of Mirza. "But why, my lord! do you, for the first time, shrink from my touch, or avert your eyes from me?"

"Because," replied Mirza, "they are too honest to look upon vice and disobedience without emotions of disgust, however it may, with respect to the object, be blended with pity."

"This to me!" cried Zulima, "who never, except in my moments of indisposition, have given occasion for the smallest uneasiness! What does my noble father mean? Oh, Omar! Oh, my more than physician, my friend Nadir! why do you all look so strange upon me? Perfectly innocent, even in thought, I cannot bear suspicion! Inform me, while the little reason which I have remains, in what I have erred, and I will love and venerate the monitor!"

"Lovely, interesting Zulima!" exclaimed Omar, embracing her.

"This must go no further!" cried Nadir: "I will not answer for the sanity of my patient if she is so harassed."

"I value her honour more than her health," said Mirza, sternly: "therefore, Omar, disclose to this vile hypocrite the motive of our visit!"

"One question," added Omar, "will ease all our hearts; Where, my lovely sister! is Ismael? Nay, start not! Where, I repeat, is Ismael?"

"How should she know?" cried Nadir.

"Confederate, or rather principal in her guilt, I command you to be silent!" exclaimed Mirza.

Zulima had in the interim sunk upon the sofa.

"Oh, Alla!" cried Omar, "must I once more to my sister repeat my question?"

"They will drive her distracted!" said Nadir.

"Silence, wretch!" exclaimed Mirza.

"Since," said Zulima, "my venerable father and beloved brother

urge an answer to a question in which, it seems, my honour is implicated, I shall answer it with the same candour and veracity that I have observed through life."

"Ah! it is easily answered!" cried Nadir: "Ismael, I have no doubt, is at my house!"

"You are mistaken!" rejoined Mirza; "for he has not been at home all night!"

"Then," added Nadir, "he has set out for Golconda!"

"You are again mistaken with respect to the person you call Ismael!" continued Zulima, with great animation: "that person, oh brother! is in the next room!"

"I knew that!" cried Mirza: "take away this hardened, this impenetrable wretch! this dog! this doctor! this pander to the vices of a disolute child! this villain! who introduced Ismael into the haram!"

"You are mistaken, oh noble father!" exclaimed Zulima, throwing herself betwixt them: "Nadir is as innocent as he is honourable! he knew nothing of my meeting with Ismael!"

"And passing the whole night with him!" cried Mirza. "Oh, indignant Alla! What! does all this guilt devolve upon the head of my once darling daughter? But," he continued, catching her by the hair, "I will take instant vengeance! * * *

"Not of my sister alone!" added Omar, interfering: "let me first drag forth her paramour!"

"There is no occasion to drag him forth!" cried Ismael, advancing: "Zulima is innocent! Good Heaven! what do I see? Omar * * *

Omar had drawn his scymitar, and was advancing, when Ismael fainted in the arms of the doctor. The scymitar dropped from his hand, when Nadir, who had opened his bosom to give him air, exclaimed, "A woman!"

"Fatima!" cried Omar—

"Is dead, for what I know to the contrary!" cried the doctor.

"Dead!" cried Omar, "impossible!"

"Dead!" said Zulima, running

to her: "no! my lovely friend will soon recover!"

"She must, then, have more air than you are inclined to afford her!" said Nadir.

"What is all this?" cried Mirza. "Is my daughter innocent?"

"Did I not tell you she was?" continued Nadir: "none but a madman could have thought otherwise. However, I will prescribe to you presently: in the mean time, let the female attendants of Zulima be summoned. How came you here among them, Tamira? Had you heard of Ismael?"

"Certainly! I introduced him into this haram: Tangra assisted."

"How did you dare, Tangra?" said Mirza.

"Because Tamira informed me of her sex!"

"Which," continued Tamira, "I discovered before I visited the faquir at the house of Abud!"

"I now," added Nadir, "understand the whole of the scheme."

"This seems to be a good sensible old woman!" said Mirza.

"Yes!" said Nadir; "and I now will allow that, in this case, she has proved a better physician than myself!"

The attention of the learned doctor, and still more that of Omar, soon restored the health of Fatima.

It appears from the work so often referred to, that the son of Mirza had (in consequence of a detachment from the Persian army being ordered to march to the relief of the Indian princes, then pressed on all sides by the European powers) been stationed with his regiment to guard the capital of Golconda. In the mansion of her father, the rajah Gopal, he first saw the beautiful Fatima: for the Indian were then far less secluded than the Persian women. A few interviews inspired these young persons with a mutual passion. Fatima agreed that Omar should endeavour to obtain the consent of her father; but, alas! Gopal, the descendant of Jehan Guier, the heir to the kingdom of Dultabat, the lord of a diamond mine,

and, above all these, one of the proudest men upon the earth, gave the young soldier a peremptory refusal. He had designed his daughter to become the bride of the grand cheik of Mecca; a prince not more than two years older than himself, but at the same time infinitely richer. He therefore considered the Persian youth, who had spoken with modesty of his family, as greatly inferior to this venerable person; and that, as a son-in-law, there was no comparison betwixt them.

Disappointed in this, his ardent hope, Omar endeavoured to obtain a removal, just at the time when, fortunately for him, the army was ordered to march to another post, but unfortunately for Fatima, who thus lost one lover before the other made his appearance. However, he soon after arrived with a retinue which, as it verified the old proverb, that large and heavy bodies move slow, may serve as an excuse for that delay which might otherwise have been imputed, by those who had never seen Fatima, to want of ardour in her intended.

When Cupid borrowed the chariot of Psyche, to pay a few occasional visits, he used to be drawn by her *cattle*, which were butterflies. Venus sometimes had dolphins, and sometimes doves, yoked to her carriage, according to the element upon which she meant to make her excursion. How these animals performed, or with what celerity they either swam or flew, it is not necessary to enquire. We think their vehicles got over the ground, or through the sea, or the air, with more celerity than that of the grand cheik of Mecca, which, we understand, was drawn by dromedaries, while his out-riders were mounted upon elephants. Since the entry into Babylon, no cavalcade had been more brilliant; since the entry into Babylon, no cavalcade has moved slower. However, quick or slow, his eminence arrived at last. The equipage of his intended son-in-law, which realized even all the visionary schemes

and ideas of Gopal respecting importance and grandeur, was the admiration of all Bagnagar, as it had been of the countries through which it had passed. Nor was the person of the grand cheik less so; for he was reckoned one of the most solemn and gravest men in Arabia. He also was supposed to be the happy and distinguished possessor of the longest beard which that country, famous for these excrescences, had ever produced, since the days of their holy prophet.

Fatima, before her passion for Omar had affected her spirits, had been esteemed one of the liveliest virgins in Golconda; and since her intimacy with that youth (whose chin was as smooth as that of the emperor Adrian), had conceived a most unconquerable aversion to beards of every description. How were these contrarieties to be reconciled?

The cheik, who had not deigned to consult her upon the subject of their nuptials, because that was not an Arabian custom, pressed this matter forward with her father. Gopal, always inclined to think, upon account of his learning, his riches, and other contingencies attached to him, of which his beard was not the least, that this was a most desirable match, was perfectly eager for it when his genealogy arrived from Mecca, as in this roll, which loaded a camel, he discovered that his intended son-in-law was of a better family than even himself, being descended from Mahomet by a *line* as straight as the golden chain which depends from the first heaven to drag the souls of faithful mussulmans up to the chrystal steps of Paradise.

This, had stimulatives been wanting, would have been an additional stimulus to the father of Fatima. He, that very evening, mentioned this arrangement to the monarch, and also to Mirgamola, the grand vizier. The consent of the former was obtained; and the latter promised to attend the marriage ceremony, the celebration of which was fixed at the distance of two days.

On the appointed morning, the sun had scarcely begun to gild the tops of the pavilions of the great pagod of Bagnagar, before the cheik of Mecca, with an immense and splendid retinue, was at the gate of Gopal to demand his bride. A flourish of trumpets announced his arrival. The portals were thrown open, and he, with becoming gravity marched through the alabaster hall to apartments which seemed, by their brilliancy, intended to exhibit specimens of the diamond mine of which their owner was lord. Here the well-bearded bridegroom was greeted with a concert of the finest music. Mirgamola, the grand vizier, soon after arrived. The happy Gopal had enough to do to welcome his guests. When they were seated, a superb curtain of green and gold flew up to a flourish of trumpets, and discovered the mufti upon a throne, attended by the moullahs, and surrounded by the relations of both families.

In fact, every thing was prepared for celebration and consummation, except the bride. The lovely Fatima (it was, after much investigation, discovered) was missing; and no search, though it was persevered in with much industry, could recover her.

The confusion which this event created will easily be suggested. The cheik, the mufti, the grand vizier, and the lord of the diamond mine, all agreed that she had eloped, but all differed as to the motives which induced her to do so, the means by which she executed her design, the time when she left the palace, and the place to which she had retreated.

The Arabians (who derive their fondness for logic from the learned Sergius, the associate of the ignorant Mahomet) are prodigious disputants; but the Golcondians (who owe this useful science to the inspiration of Brumma himself) are still greater; consequently the arguments upon this interesting subject were misconducted with a warmth which caused the parties concerned to part

with great coolness toward each other, to which some joined a sovereign contempt. This last propensity, which reigned in the mind of Gopal, induced him to think his son-in-law elect, who asserted that he believed Fatima had sought an asylum in Persia (while he was certain that she was concealed in Golconda), the greatest blockhead that he had ever heard in his life.

Men subject to strong passions, very frequently, and with great facility, change the objects of their love and hatred. Gopal, at his next meeting with the grand cheik, endeavoured to convince him of the impossibility of his daughter's escape into the Persian dominions. He argued the matter with him geographically, philosophically, and morally. The cheik, infinitely superior in the art of reasoning, rebutted his arguments, sometimes with logical acuteness, at others with sarcastical keenness. The sages assembled smiled (for the first time, perhaps, in their lives) to see the intended son-in-law triumph over his father. Yet Gopal returned to the charge, and, from the fifty dissertations of Harari, endeavoured to prove, that for a daughter to abandon the country of her parent was immoral and impious; but, that Fatima had always been pious and moral; from which he concluded, that she was still in Bagnagar.

"Then produce her!" cried the grand cheik.

The whole company applauded this laconic answer; and the learned cheik would have gone off in triumph, to the great mortification of Gopal, had not Omar, who had been dispatched by the bassa commanding the Persian forces to the grand vizier, upon business of the utmost importance, at this instant arrived.

Politeness, as well as a tenderer motive, induced him, before he returned to the camp, to pay his respects to Gopal; and he, in consequence, entered the apartment while the rajah was so engaged in demonstrating the impossibility of his

daughter's flight into Persia, that he scarcely noticed him.

It will be supposed, that Omar heard his arguments with equal attention and interest.

He entered at once into the subject; and, hurt at the abrupt and captious manner in which the cheik (most briefly, and therefore unlogically) endeavoured to put an end to the debate, he (while the smile of triumph played upon the countenance of the intended bridegroom and his Arabian friends) ranged himself on the side of Gopal, and consequently took the charge of his defence.

However those that call themselves the immediate descendants of the prophet might have sneered at the youth for his want of beard, among his countrymen and the Golcondians he was esteemed, from that circumstance only, as too beautiful for a man. His understanding, as the mission upon which he was employed showed, was appreciated at the highest rate. He began an oration, the first words of which, combined with his figure, his animation, and the vivid flashes that beamed from his eyes, as he cast them upon his rival, arrested the attention of friends and enemies; of Arabians, Persians, and Indians. As he proceeded, he completely established the position that had been taken by Gopal, and as completely destroyed the hypothesis which his rival had erected. The conclusion, in which the grand cheik had said, "If the lady is in Bagnagar, produce her!" he showed to be the most illogical, unphilosophical, and absurd mode of escaping from an argument with which Gopal had pressed his opponent into the earth, that ever was urged by the most flimsy pretender to learning. "If," said he, "the great Heb had produced at once, which he probably had the power to do, the corpse of the warrior Tytan, what would have become of the four hundred and thirteen volumes, besides fragments, which were written to prove his existence?"

The whole assembly felt the

force of this argument ; which, as the sagacious Omar knew their fondness for controversy, he repeated, divided the proposition, moulded it into such a variety of forms, treated some of them with humour, others with solemnity, that the grand cheik of Mecca fairly confessed it was out of his power to answer the young Persian, whom at the outset he had despised for his want of beard ; and while, with the few of his learned friends that still adhered to him, he retreated from the apartment, the noble Gopal almost stifled the youth in his embrace, saying, at the same time, "Oh, son ! *our* triumph is complete !"

"Yours, my lord !" returned Omar, with great modesty ; "the circumstance of so young a man as myself venturing to speak in so grave an assembly, and upon so important a subject, for a moment astonished the members of it ; but even the most ignorant of them instantly discovered, that I was only re-uttering your sentiments, and enlivening the discourse with a few of the sparks emanating from your genius."

Gopal embraced him more fervently than before ; he praised him to the skies ; and not content with empty praise, he, when he could no longer prevail with him to abandon his military duty (to which the answer of the grand vizier left him at liberty, nay urged him to return), put a paper into his hand, in which he gave him his full and free consent to marry Fatima wheresoever he could find her, either in Golconda, or (though he deemed the thing to be impossible) in the Persian empire ; he also, upon the fruition of this prospective marriage, endowed him with a considerable part of his fortune : which must be esteemed a tolerable provision for a family, when we state, that a share of the diamond mine was included.

"The joy of Omar extended his stature until his head knocked against the clouds," says the sage of Zulpha. "He seemed to grasp the sun with his right and the moon

with his left hand," he continues, and launches above half a chapter of still more extravagant hyperboles : but as we (whatsoever temptation we might have had in the course of this work) have hitherto avoided any deviation from the plain and obvious path of common sense, we shall certainly not, so near the conclusion, transplant any oriental flowers, however blooming, or lengthen it with a train of saws and sayings, which, though deemed wisdom in the east, would perhaps be considered as foolishness in the west.

The young Persian returned to the camp ; and, as his genius whispered him that he should perhaps, when he least expected it, meet with his beloved Fatima, he soothed his mind to composure ; to which, doubtless, the active events of the campaign contributed.

The abrupt termination of the war, and sudden order of the sophy for the return of his troops to the capital, had disconcerted all the plans which he had laid for the recovery of his bride elect. However, he resolved to seek her in every possible place. This excursion was most fortunately prevented ; for he had, during the whole time that we have been relating these events, been seated with his arm around her, in his sister's apartment, listening to her adventures with an eagerness of curiosity and liveliness of interest which we wish we could communicate to our readers.

How the beautiful Fatima came into the mansion of the magnificent Mirza, was a problem that still puzzled, and taxed the sagacity of, some part of the assembly.

Zulima, when applied to for an explanation, said, that she was introduced by Tangra.

"As a man ?" cried the still jealous Mirza.

"No !" replied Tangra ; "I had previously, as has been stated, learned her sex from Tamira."

"How came Tamira to know any thing about these matters ?" said Nadir.

"I have already, most learned doctor!" replied Tamira, "told you, that I discovered the sex of the lovely Fatima the day I first saw her; and, claiming the privileges of an old woman (privileges, by the bye, which the faculty of Ispahan have most strangely intrenched upon), I waited on her at the house of the sagacious Abud. Here the whole plan of her residing in your house, till a relation whom she waited for returned with the Persian army, was arranged and settled. The sabre and belt, on which the name of Fatima is set in diamonds, were intended for him. Black Absalom, the jeweller, was himself astonished at their richness: however, as he was paid, he never troubled his head how these valuable gems were acquired. Although I warned her of the risk she run of being questioned upon this subject, I did not think there was any in placing her as Ismael in the house of a single man, as her disguise, together with my master's age and profession, secured his lovely tenant from danger and even from scandal. She has continued with us until this time, and probably would have remained much longer, had not the approach of the army occasioned her to give the hint of her removal to Nadir, which operated like electricity on the mind of Zulima, and soon after produced the visit from Tangra.

"The venerable Tangra and myself are old friends, and (did I not observe a frown upon her brow) I should add, old women. However, women, young or old, will be talking. In the course of our conversation it came out, that the disorder of Zulima was the consequence of an unfortunate attachment which she had conceived for a youth of the name of Ismael, an inmate of Dr. Nadir's, whom she had seen at the shop of the jeweller I have mentioned, where he was examining a magnificent sabre.

"Struck with this circumstance, I exclaimed, I shall prove a better physician than my master!"

"You did!" said Nadir.

"Yes! therefore I immediately informed her of the sex of our lodger."

"This information I communicated to Zulima," added Tangra; "and it produced the interview from which such happy consequences are likely to ensue to Omar, who, the noble Mirza knows, was, as well as Zulima, my foster-child, and of whom I remember, when he was not above five months old,"***

"Hold, my good nurse!" cried Zulima, "if you would not show us that you merit the epithet which Tamira seemed inclined to bestow upon you! In the name of my brother, and my own, I thank you for your care of our infancy, and your continued affection for us. On this subject no more need be said. At present, a more important task remains. It is, first, to present my acknowledgments to the learned doctor Tamira, upon the important cure she has performed. The visionary passion which for a time inflamed my mind; the idea of Ismael, whom I loved as Hamet loved the hourii, I have given to the winds; and I do exceedingly rejoice, that the zephyrs, which bear every visionary trace of it from my mind, will fan its flames in the bosoms of my beloved brother and the beautiful Fatima. If I have lost the ideal Ismael as a lover, I shall still embrace his real resemblance as a sister.

"Oh, noble Mirza! oh, my father! if I have faltered in my steps; if I have, for a moment, appeared to deviate from the path of duty to you; I know that you will pardon the wanderings of your darling Zulima, when she declares, that you shall have no rival in her heart in future.

"In my more than physician, my dear, my estimable friend, Nadir, I present to your attention, O father and brother! a man whose honour and integrity are such, that, love-sick as I was, I should not, had I, even in the erratic emotions of my imagination, been inclined, have dared to have proposed to him the

smallest deviation from his professional duty. When a man of this description (who joins to scientific acquirements a general knowledge of the world) becomes a friend to such a family as ours, he ought to be cherished, as every part of it may depend, not only on an able medical assistant, but a moralist, and an impartial monitor.

"In conclusion," continued Zulima, my dear brother and sister! (as you, lovely Fatima! soon will be) fortune seems to have combined with your exalted merit to smooth every difficulty which appeared at first to impede the progress of your love. May your lives be as happy as you are deserving of happiness! for although you, O Fatima! are not, perhaps, to be commended for withdrawing from your paternal roof, yet, when we consider that the laws of our several countries do not allow a woman even a dissenting voice in that important arrangement, the acceptance of a partner for life, you will, by every candid mind, be excused.

"The best of sons and brothers cannot fail to prove to you the best of husbands! and, while the virgin Zulima (perhaps at a distance) contemplates your happiness, she will, in the practice of higher duties than those visionary pursuits which were once the ardent wishes of her unsettled imagination, endeavour to secure her own."

For the Literary Magazine.

M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND'S EXCURSION TO MOUNT VESUVIUS.

THE following notes were not originally intended for the press, as may easily be inferred from the peculiar nature of the reflections they contain. But a new eruption of Mount Vesuvius having been lately mentioned in the daily papers, that event tends to render them interesting. They were written in pencil

while climbing the summit of the volcano.

An Excursion to Mount Vesuvius, 1804.

This day, January 5, I left Naples, at seven in the morning; I have now reached Portici. The sun is clear of the eastern clouds, but the head of Vesuvius is still covered with a fog. I agree with a *cicerone* to conduct me to the crater of the volcano. He supplies me with two mules; one for himself, one for me; and we start.

I begin to ascend by a pretty wide path, between two vineyards bordered with poplars. I proceed straight on towards the point where the sun rises in winter. Somewhat under the vapours that have descended below the middle region of the air, I perceive the tops of a few trees; they are the elms of the hermitage. Both on the right and left appear sorry habitations of the humble vine-dressers, encircled with the luxuriant grapes of which is made the *lachryma Christi*. Every where else, on all sides, are seen a calcinated soil, withered vines, intermixed with umbrella-shaped pines, a few olives that grow out of the hedges, numberless rolling stones, but not a single bird.

I arrive at the first level of the mountain; an extensive barren land stretches before me; I then descry the two heads of Vesuvius; on the left the *Somma*; on the right the present mouth of the volcano; both of these peaks are partly veiled by pale clouds. I advance; on one side the *Somma* lowers; on the other I begin to distinguish the interior cavities of the volcano, whose cone I am proposing to ascend. The lava of 1766 and 1769 overspread the whole plain which I tread. It is a dreadful smoky wilderness, over which the lava, issuing like melted iron from a forge, exhibits a whitish froth on a sable ground, not altogether unlike dry faded moss.

Proceeding to the left, and leaving

the cone of the volcano on the right, I arrive at the foot of a little hillock, or rather of a wall formed by the lava which covered Herculaneum. This kind of wall is planted with vines on the borders of the plain, and its reverse offers to the view a deep vale overspread with copse. The cold becomes very sharp and cutting.

I ascend the hillock on my way to the hermitage, which is seen from the opposite side. The sky and the clouds lower, the latter rolling along the ground appears like a greyish smoke, or like ashes driven by the winds. I now begin to hear the rattling of the elms in front of the hermitage.

The hermit is come out to welcome me. He has already seized the bridle of my mule, and I have dismounted. This recluse is a tall, good-looking man, with an open countenance. He has invited me to enter his cell, has prepared the table himself, and has brought out a loaf, a few apples, and some eggs. He has seated himself facing me, leaning with both his elbows on the table, and has begun to converse very freely while I breakfasted. The clouds had now closed all around us; not a single object could we distinguish through the window. Nothing was heard in this vaporous abyss besides the whizzing of the trees, and the distant roaring of the sea on the coast of Herculaneum. Is it not very remarkable, that this peaceful abode of christian hospitality should be situated in a small cell at the foot of a volcano, and amidst the conflict of elements?

The hermit has presented to me the book in which those travellers who visit Mount Vesuvius write some remarks. However I did not meet with a single one deserving of being recollected; some few French alone, with that fine taste which is natural to our countrymen, had been satisfied with inserting the date of their passage, or bestowing some eulogium on the hermit who had welcomed them. Be that as it

might, the volcano had suggested nothing remarkable to the various peregrinators; which corroborated an idea I have long since entertained, that truly great subjects like very great objects are less proper than may be thought to originate sublime ideas: their grandeur being as it were too obvious, whatever might be added to augment the reality, tends only to diminish it. Thus *nascitur ridiculus mus* stands true with regard to all mountains.

I leave the hermitage at half past two; and again direct my course towards the hillock of lava, which I had already mounted: on my left is the valley that separates me from the *Somma*, and on my right, the first level of the cone. I proceed ascending towards the summit of the hillock. The only living creature I could see in this dreary place was a poor emaciated young girl, with a yellow complexion, half naked, and overburdened with the weight of the wood she had been cutting on the mountain.

The clouds now prevent me from seeing any thing; the wind blowing from below upwards, drives them from the darkened level which I survey, over the summit of the causeway on which I am advancing. I can only hear the steps of my mule.

Leaving the hills, I turn to the right, and descend into that plain of lava, which reaches to the cone of the volcano; a lower part of which I had already traversed on my way to the hermitage. Even with these calcined remains before one's eyes, fancy forms with difficulty an idea of those fields of fire and of liquid melted metals, at the period of an eruption of Vesuvius. Dante, perhaps, had seen them, since in his *Inferno* he describes the burning sands on which everlasting flames descend with silent slowness, *come di neve in Alpe senza vento*:

Arrivammo ad una landa
Che dal suo letto ogni pianta remove.
Lo spazzo er' un' arena arida e spessa

Sovra tutto 'l sabbion d' un cader
lento
Pioven di fuoco di latata, e falde,
Come di neve in Alpe senza vento.

The clouds begin to open a little on some points ; on a sudden, yet by intervals, I discover Portici, Caprea, Ischia, Pausilyppo, white sails of many fishing boats speckling the sea, and the coast of the gulph of Naples, bordered with orange trees: the prospect is that of Paradise beheld from the infernal regions.

Close to the foot of the cone, we dismount ; my guide presents me with a long staff, and we begin to climb the enormous heap of ashes. The clouds close again, the fog grows thick, and the darkness redoubles.

Here I am now on the top of Vesuvius, seated, writing by the mouth of the volcano, and preparing to descend to the bottom of its crater. Every now and then the sun glimmers through the vaporous veil which covers the whole mountain. This unfortunate circumstance, which screens from my view one of the most beautiful landscapes in existence, redoubles the mournful aspect of the place. Vesuvius, thus separated by clouds from the delightful country all around its basis, seems as if situated in the most unfrequented desert, and the particular kind of horror with which it seizes the beholder is not softened by the aspect of the flourishing city at the foot of it.

I propose to my conductor his accompanying me to the bottom of the crater. He does not readily comply, in order to get something more from me ; however, we agree for a certain sum, which he insists upon being paid immediately. I give it to him, he then strips ; and for some time we struggle on the borders of the abyss ; we search a less perpendicular steep, and a more gentle descent. The guide stops and warns me to get ready. We are going to launch into the precipice. We

reach the bottom of the abyss*. I am at a loss how to give an accurate description of this chaos.

Imagine a bason one mile in circumference, and three hundred feet deep, which widens from bottom to top in the shape of a funnel. Its interior walls are furrowed by the fiery fluid which the bason has first contained and then spouted forth. The projecting parts of these furrows resemble those brick piers upon which the Romans supported their massy walls. Large rocks are suspended in some parts of the circumference, and the fragments of them lie mixed with a crust of ashes at the bottom of the abyss.

The bottom of this bason is broken up in different ways. Nearly in the centre are recently opened three large pits, or small mouths, which vomited flames during the stay of the French at Naples, in 1798.

Columns of smoke rise from different parts of the abyss, especially on the side of *la Torre del Greco*. On the opposite flank, towards *Caserta*, I can perceive a blaze. If you thrust your hand into the ashes, you will find them burning at a few inches below the surface.

The general colour of the surface is that of cinders. But Providence, when it pleases, as I have often observed, knows how to render the most dreadful objects agreeable to the eye. The lava in some parts is decorated with azure, ultramarine, yellow, and orange-colour specks or streaks. Large blocks of granite, owing to the vehemence and action of the fire, are seen twisted and curling at their extremities, like the acanthus, or the leaves of the palm-tree. The volcanic matter, chilled on the rocks over which it has flowed, forms here and there vases, chande-

* There is more fatigue than danger to encounter in the attempt of descending into the crater of Vesuvius, except in case of sudden eruption.

liers, ribbons, &c. ; sometimes it assumes the figures of plants or of animals, and imitates the variegated designs which constitute the beauty of an agate. I have observed on a bluish-coloured rock a swan of white lava, so well modeled, that, you would have sworn you saw that beautiful bird asleep, on his smooth watery bed, with his head concealed under his wing, and his long neck extended over his back like a roll of white silk.

Ad vada Meandri concinit albus olor.

Here I observe again the unvarying silence which I have formerly noticed, at noon, in the forests of America, when holding my breath, I could only hear the pulsation of the arteries in my temples, and the beating of my heart. However, sudden gusts of wind, occasionally blowing from the summit of the cone to the bottom of the crater, roar within my garments, or keep whistling along my stick : I likewise hear some stones rolling, which my guide displaces with his feet while climbing amidst the ashes. A confused reverberation of the sound, not unlike that produced by the vibrations of metal or of glass, prolongs the noise occasioned by the fall, and suddenly ceases. Now, compare this deadly silence to the dreadful detonations which shake these very same parts when the volcano vomits forth fire from within its entrails, and overspreads the land with darkness.

What a favourable opportunity for making reflections, truly philosophical, and, if inclined so to do, to lament over the vicissitudes of human institutions ! But what are the so famous revolutions of empires, in comparison to these convulsions of the natural system, which change the face of the earth and ocean ! Happy indeed were it if men were not employed in tormenting one another the few moments they are allowed to spend together ! But Vesuvius has never laid open its abysses, not once to devour

cities, without its fury having surprised the divers nations weltering in one another's blood, or flowing in tears. Which were the first signs of civilization, the first proofs of men having formerly inhabited those parts, that were discovered, so late as our time, under the extinguished ashes of the volcano ? Instruments of torture, and skeletons loaded with chains* !

Times vary, and the destinies of men display the same inconstancy. "Life," says the Greek poet, "glides away like the wheels of a chariot."

Pliny lost his life for indulging the curiosity of viewing from a distance the volcano, in the crater of which I am now seated very quietly ! I behold the abyss smoking all around me. Moreover, I am aware that at a few fathoms lower down, there is an abyss of fire under my feet ; I reflect that the volcano might open on a sudden, and blow me up into the air with those mutilated huge blocks of marble.

What Providence has brought me here ? By what unforeseen event have the tempests of the American ocean driven me to the Lavinian fields ? *Lavinaque venit littora*. I cannot forbear casting a retrograde look on the troubles of this life, in which, according to St. Augustin, "things are replete with misery, and hope is void of happiness." *Rem plenam miseria, spem beatitudinis inanem*. Born on the rocks of Armorica†, the first sound that struck my infant ear was that of the bellowing waves ; and on how many shores have I seen those same waves break, which I here meet again ! Who would have told me, some years ago, that I should hear the roaring of those same waves at the tombs of Scipio and of Virgil, which flowed at my feet on the coast of England, or on the shore of Canada ! My name was already known in the hut of the Indian of Florida. The hermit of

* At Pompeia.

† Brittany.

Vesuvius has it now in his book. When shall I lay down my staff and travelling cloak at the gate of our family hall?

O patria! O divum domus Ilium!

How do I envy the fate of those who have never left their country, and have no adventures to relate to any one!

CHATEAUBRIAND.

This writer may well say

*Felix qui patriis ævum transegit
in agris;*

Illum non vario traxit fortuna tumultu.

He is one of those who describe nothing but what they have seen. Previously to composing his Attila, he resided two years among the savages of America, that he might accurately represent their manners; and now, when he meditates a work on the subject of ancient Greece, he is visiting the sites of those cities and places immortalized by events of which they have been the scenes. In the mean time, he continues his correspondence with his friends; and we may expect from him letters dated at Athens, Thebes, Constantinople, the plains of Troy, &c.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE ANGLING PARTY.

From Mrs. Le Noir's Village Anecdotes, lately published.

MRS. PETERSON fears I shall be dull in the absence of her daughters. She often proposes schemes of amusement, which I usually decline: however, a fishing party being planned this morning, and the weather proving favourable, I readily agreed to accompany my friend, who seemed eager to partake of it. Mr. Thomas Peterson, and a servant with casting nets and baskets, led the way: we followed along the meadows till Mrs. Peterson, finding

the grass wet, quitted the party: Harriet and I were shod against such trifling inconveniences; and she would by no means consent to let us accompany her home. While the sportsmen followed the course of the river through a narrow path, rather too difficult for us, we seated ourselves on some stumps of trees, whence we could see them at once, and admire the winding of it, which just on this spot is extremely beautiful. The opposite bank has a narrow margin of meadow; it then rises in a gentle slope, the top of which is covered with woods, now richly clad in all the varied tints of autumn, and forming a beautiful contrast to the vivid green below. Some sheep, with fleeces of a snowy whiteness, were feeding on the slanting side of the hill; and the sound of a flute, brought near by a gentle breeze, and the water, rendered the scene completely Arcadian.

"Where is the shepherd?" said Harriet, who, I believe, expected to have seen one in all the elegance of pastoral simplicity, with a crook ornamented with ribbons and flowers. "He is yonder, my dear," said I, pointing to a little ragged boy lying on the ground; who was certainly what she enquired for, though such a blot in the picture had escaped her notice. "That the shepherd, Mrs. Villars!" said she; "that is a *Shropshire* shepherd indeed. Oh, how you break the spell! But I still hear the flute; there is another not far off."

Mr. Thomas now reminded us of him, whom we had almost forgotten, with a loud holla, that he had got a perch of two pounds; and impatiently calling to us to come and see his sport. I took my companion's arm, and led her reluctant from this enchanting spot. We traversed the long grass through an unbeaten disagreeable path, to join the fisherman, for they were going another way home; and Mr. Thomas would not stir a step to meet us. I should have left him and his fish to have sunk or swam together,

and have returned by the way we came, had not another consideration led me to prefer that which he took, as it led from the sound of the music, and of course from the musician, whom I could not but guess at, and feared to expose my young friend to meet, her heart thus softened, and her imagination thus warmed, and thus prepared for the most dangerous impressions. We followed our leaders, whose baskets were well filled with fish; and saw them throw their net several times unsuccessfully. Mr. Thomas now grew tired, and proposed returning, to which we readily agreed.

On our return, passing a turnip field after we had left the river, on the side of a coppice, Sailor, who is always of our walking parties, started a fine cock pheasant. Mr. Thomas and his man made a point, as their dogs might have done. The former cursed his stupid head for going a fishing the first day of pheasant shooting; and ordering his man to mark the bird, set down his basket; and, without the least apology, ran off in pursuit of a gun. In the mean time the bird rose again, and directed its flight to the wood. The servant, loaded as he was with the net, took to his heels, to watch its direction; and we were left with the basket of fish, and Sailor, to shift as we could.

We stood looking at each other, in a sort of ridiculous distress, which ended, however, in a fit of laughter. "To be sure they will come back, and seek for their fish, ma'am," said Harriet. "For their fish, perhaps, they may, my dear," said I; "for we seem to be quite out of the question." We then seated ourselves on the grass, and waited patiently a full half hour, expecting their return; unwilling to leave the produce of our morning's sport to the mercy of the first passenger that was able to carry it. We were in a sort of dell, between two rising grounds, and could see nothing beyond. Harriet went on all sides to *reconnoitre*, but could discover no creature of

whom to inquire our way, or solicit assistance. In this dilemma, we agreed that any thing was better than sitting still to take cold: we, therefore, took the basket between us, and made towards the river, in order to regain the path we knew. Our load warmed as well as wearied us; and we were often obliged to stop and rest. In one of these pauses, just as we were within knowledge, Sailor, who was jumping and caressing us, as suddenly sprang away, as if he had started some other game. The faithful creature ran to greet an acquaintance who always takes notice of him: it was Mr. Ewer, who soon joined us; and, after the first compliments, he expressed his surprise to see us so incumbered. "Who has loaded two fair ladies so unconscionably?" said he. "Have you discovered some poacher's hoard? for, to be sure, you never caught all this fish yourselves?" We were obliged to explain how we came in charge of it, and to accept of his assistance to convey it home, which he absolutely insisted upon: he hoisted his pack, and we set forward once more. "My scheme, on leaving home, was to have fished too, ladies," said he; "but I was beguiled by my flute, and have been sauntering on the banks of the river, and playing old tunes to beguile old sorrows the whole morning through. I was, however, on the point of adjusting my tackle to begin, when my good genius directed me to this meadow, as a more convenient spot, where so much happiness awaited me."

Mr. Ewer is certainly not handsome; yet, at this moment, I almost thought him so. Pleasure flushed his pale cheeks, and sparkled in his expressive eye: he tripped lightly before us; and absolutely carried his load with a grace. His countenance was not the only one that brightened at this unexpected and opportune rencontre; indeed all were pleased, to the very dog; and who could blame us? As for Mr. Ewer, his harmony of spirits broke

out in an extempore song, which he struck up with infinite humour, as follows :

Shepherds, I have lost my love,
Have you seen my Thomas ?
In the path, hard by the grove,
He has wandered from us.

We with him our home forsook,
Near yon misty mountain ;
Here's the fish the shepherd took
At the river's fountain.

Never shall he see them more,
Until his returning ;
Should he find the dinner o'er,
Joy will turn to mourning.

Thus entertained, our walk did not seem long : we reached home without seeing any thing of our company, or meeting any further adventure ; and Mr. Ewer, having deposited his load, took his leave.

For the Literary Magazine.

DESCRIPTION OF POMPEY'S PILLAR AND CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLE, IN EGYPT.

By an Officer of the British Army.

SOUTH of the city of Alexandria, and nearly in a line with the pharos, stands that great piece of antiquity, Pompey's pillar. Nothing can exceed the beauty of this fine monument of ancient architecture : it is in the highest state of preservation, except on the north-west quarter, which I imagine has suffered from the constant and violent winds blowing from that point the greater part of the year.

The remains of a Greek inscription are plainly visible on the western face of the pedestal.

The French have repaired the foundation supporting the pedestal, which had formerly been destroyed in part by the brutal rapacity of an Arab, who, imagining some treasure lay concealed under it, attempted, but happily in vain, to blow up

VOL. VIII. NO. LI.

this beautiful column. A cap of liberty was erected upon a pole on the top, having been placed there by the French, a short time after their arrival in the country.

Close to the sea, S. by E. of the pharos, is Cleopatra's needle. Near it lies its fellow obelisk, which had always been supposed to be broken, part of it being buried in the sand ; but the French cleared away the ground all around it, and found it to be perfectly whole. It is exactly the same as the one now standing, both as to size and the hieroglyphics with which it is covered. Those on the north and on the west faces of the obelisk standing are in a very good state of preservation ; those on the other sides are nearly obliterated.

These two obelisks are supposed to have stood at the entrance of some temple. Each is of one entire piece of granite, sixty-five feet high. Round the summit of that which is erect we perceived the remains of a rope, most probably put there for the purpose of pulling it to the ground, preparatory to the transporting of both of them to France.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE PIEDMONTESE SHARPER.

IN the year 1695, a Piedmontese, who stiled himself count Carassa, came to Vienna, and privately waited on the prime minister, pretending he was sent by the duke of Savoy on a very important affair, which they two were to negotiate without the privity of the French court. At the same time he produced his credentials, in which the duke's seal and signature were very exactly imitated. He met with a very favourable reception, and, without affecting any privacy, took upon him the title of envoy extraordinary from the court of Savoy. He had several conferences with the imperial council, and made so great a figure in the most distinguished assemblies, that once at a private concert at

court, the captain of the guard denying him admittance, he demanded satisfaction in his master's name, and the officer was obliged to ask his pardon. His first care was to ingratiate himself with the jesuits, who at that time bore a great sway at court; and in order to this, he went to visit their church, which remained unfinished, as they pretended, from the low circumstances of the society. He asked them how much money would complete it. An estimate to the amount of two thousand louis-d'ors being laid before him, Carassa assured them of his constant attachment to their order; that he had gladly embraced such a public opportunity of showing his esteem for them, and that they might immediately proceed to finishing their church. In consequence of his promise, he sent that very day the two thousand louis-d'ors, at which sum the charge had been computed.

He was very sensible that this was a part he could not act long without being detected; and, that this piece of generosity might not be at his own expence, he invited a great number of ladies of the first rank to supper and a ball. Every one of the guests had promised to be there; but he complained to them all of the ill returns made to his civilities, adding, that he had been often disappointed, as the ladies made no scruple of breaking their word on such occasions, and, in a jocular way, insisted on a pledge from every lady for their appearance at the time appointed. One gave him a ring, another a pearl necklace, a third a pair of ear-rings, a fourth a gold watch, and several such trinkets, to the amount of twelve thousand dollars. On the evening appointed not one of the guests were missing; but it may easily be conceived, what a damp it struck upon the whole assembly, when it was at last found that the gay Piedmontese was a sharper, and had disappeared. Nor had the jesuits any great reason to applaud themselves on the success of their dissimulation; for a

few days before his departure, the pretended count, putting on an air of deep concern, placed himself in the way of the emperor's confessor, who inquiring into the cause of his apparent melancholy, he intrusted him with the important secret, that he was short of money, at a juncture when eight thousand louis-d'ors were immediately wanted for his master's affairs, to be distributed at the imperial court. The jesuits to whom he had given a recent instance of his liberality by so large a donation, immediately furnished him with the sum he wanted; and with this acquisition, and the ladies' pledges, he thought he had carried his jests far enough, and very prudently withdrew from Vienna.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE MELANGE.

NO. XI.

Advice.

THERE is no greater instance of good sense, than to be capable of *receiving advice*; for we may easily find that the greatest part of mankind are unanimously resolved to play the hypocrite with one another. The person who asks advice seldom means any thing more by it, than to let you know either what he has already done, or resolved to do: the giver of advice, therefore, knowing that this is a common mode of proceeding, repays the fraud of his friend with another of his own, and, instead of considering the thing proposed, considers only what the intention of his friend is, and immediately advises him to that.

There are some who ask advice, but proclaim their own resolution before they can receive any answer. *Shall I do this?—Yes, I will do it,*—is the constant practice of an old physician of my acquaintance; whilst my friend Mr.

Wilful takes a contrary method, and with his—*I will do this—Shall I?*—makes his asking advice an equal absurdity. Mrs. Rentroll is of the same turn of mind with my friend Wilful. She never does any thing without consulting her husband; but wisely lets him know her intention first, and asks his advice after. The other day Bob Spavin, the jockey, brought an elegant saddle-horse to show her, of about eighty pounds value. She immediately asked her husband's advice, whether she should have it or no. He attempted seriously to persuade her against it; but found at last, that her asking whether she *should* have it, was only her manner of telling him she *would*.

Tom Sparebones has a far happier way of managing his wife, who will not take the least step without his approbation. If she would take a jaunt in the summer, if she would invite to a dance, or make one at a tea-party, she never fails to ask his advice first. Tom puts on a grave face, and violently persuades her to what he knows she is resolved upon. She cries, *Well, since you advise me to it, my dear, I will*—and thus certainly obeys him: by this means, he is the most absolute husband in the world.

There is another set of people, who ask advice only to court our flattery; and it is easy to observe, notwithstanding all their grimace, that it is rather praise than counsel they consult us for. A young author showed a poetical translation to a man of excellent judgment, and solicited him as the oracle who was to pronounce its fate: the gentleman, with the utmost tenderness and good-nature, yet with a sincerity above the common mode, pointed out its numerous errors, and advised him against committing it to press. The bard was incapable of receiving advice, and thought it was nothing but an endeavour of envy to suppress his *merit*. He ran immediately to some wiser counsellors, who complaisantly applauded his piece; he printed it,

and thus proved himself a block-head.

Some men ask advice, likewise, merely to collect opinions; and though they would be glad that the world agreed with them, they have no intention of altering their conduct, if the case should be otherwise. M'Brawn took a mistress into keeping, and asked the sentiments of his friends upon the occasion, in hopes they would think that this step was at least preferable to the indiscriminate pursuit of low pleasures. They candidly expressed their disapprobation.—M'Brawn has quarrelled with his counsellors, it is true, but he still keeps his mistress.

Thus, sincerity in giving advice is constantly received ill, by all but those persons who have good sense enough to bear with it; and the sincere counsellor comes off well, if he is not recompensed with some blunt remonstrance, or keen reproach.

I love the neighbourhood of man
and beast:
I would not place my stable out of
sight.
No! close behind my dwelling it
should form
A fence, on one side, to my garden
plat.
What beauty equals shelter, in a
clime
Where wintry blasts with summer
breezes blend,
Chilling the day! How pleasant 'tis
to hear
December's winds, amid surrounding
trees,
Raging aloud! how grateful 'tis to
wake,
While raves the midnight storm, and
hear the sound
Of busy grinders at the well-filled
rack;
Or flapping wing, and crow of chan-
ticleer,
Long ere the lingering morn; or
bouncing flails,
That tell the dawn is near! Plea-
sant the path
By sunny garden wall, when all the
fields

Are chill and comfortless; or barn-
yard snug,
Where flocking birds, of various
plume, and chirp
Discordant, cluster on the leaning
stack,
From whence the thresher draws the
rustling sheaves.

O, Nature! all thy seasons please
the eye
Of him who sees a Deity in all.
It is His presence that diffuses
charms
Unspeakable, o'er mountain, wood,
and stream.
To think that He, who hears the hea-
venly choirs,
Hearkens complacent to the wood-
land song;
To think that he who rolls yon solar
sphere,
Uplifts the warbling songster to the
sky;
To mark His presence in the migh-
ty bow,
That spans the clouds, as in the
tints minute
Of tiniest flower; to hear his awful
voice
In thunder speak, and whisper in the
gale;
To know, and feel His care for all
that lives;
'Tis this that makes the barren waste
appear
A fruitful field, each grove a para-
dise.
Yes! place me 'mid far stretching
woodless wilds,
Where no sweet song is heard; the
heath-bell there
Would sooth my weary sight, and
tell of Thee!
There would my gratefully uplifted
eye
Survey the heavenly vault by day, by
night,
When glows the firmament from
pole to pole;
There would my overflowing heart
exclaim,
*The heavens declare the glory of the
Lord,*
*The firmament shows forth his handy
work!*

The duke of Northumberland has
lately printed a household book of an
old earl of that family, who lived in

the time of Henry VII. It contains
many curious particulars, which
mark the manners and way of liv-
ing in that rude, not to say barbar-
ous age; as well as the prices of
commodities. I have extracted a few
of them from that piece, which
gives a true picture of ancient man-
ners, and is one of the most singu-
lar monuments that English anti-
quity affords us: for we may be
confident, however rude the strokes,
that no baron's family was on a no-
bler or more splendid footing. The
family consists of 166 persons, mas-
ters and servants: 57 strangers are
reckoned upon every day: on the
whole 223. Two-pence halfpenny
are supposed to be the daily ex-
pence of each for meat, drink, and
firing. This would make a groat
of our present money: supposing
provisions between three and four
times cheaper, it would be equiva-
lent to fourteen-pence: no great
sum for a nobleman's house-keep-
ing; especially considering that the
chief expence of a family, at that
time, consisted in meat and drink:
for the sum allotted by the earl for
his whole annual expence is 1118
pounds, 17 shillings, and 8 pence;
meat, drink, and firing cost 796
pounds, 11 shillings, and 2 pence,
more than two thirds of the whole:
in a modern family it is not above
a third, p. 157, 158, 159. The
whole expence of the earl's family
is managed with an exactness that
is very rigid, and, if we make no
allowance for ancient manners,
such as may seem to border on an
extreme; insomuch, that the num-
ber of pieces, which must be cut
out of every quarter of beef, mut-
ton, pork, veal, nay stock-fish and
salmon, are determined, and must
be entered and accounted for by the
different clerks appointed for that
purpose. If a servant be absent a
day, his mess is struck off: if he go
on my lord's business, board wages
are allowed him, eight-pence a day
for his journey in winter, five-pence
in summer: when he stays in any
place, two-pence a day are allowed
him, beside the maintenance of his

horse. Somewhat above a quarter of wheat is allowed for every mouth throughout the year; and the wheat is estimated at five shillings and eight-pence a quarter. Two hundred and fifty quarters of malt are allowed, at four shillings a quarter: two hogsheads are to be made of a quarter; which amounts to about a bottle and a third of beer a day to each person, p. 4, and the beer will not be very strong. One hundred and nine fat beeves are to be bought at Allhallow-tide, at thirteen shillings and four-pence a piece: and twenty-four lean beeves to be bought at St. Helen's at eight shillings a piece: these are to be put into the pastures to feed; and are to serve from midsummer to Michaelmas; which is consequently the only time that the family eats fresh beef: during all the rest of the year they live on salted meat, p. 5. One hundred and sixty gallons of mustard are allowed in a year; which seems indeed requisite for the salt beef, p. 18. Six hundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed, at twenty-pence a piece; and these seem also to be all eat salted, except between Lammas and Michaelmas, p. 5. Only twenty-five hogs are allowed, at two shillings a piece; twenty-eight veals at twenty-pence; forty lambs at ten-pence or a shilling, p. 7. These seem to be reserved for my lord's table, or that of the upper servants, called the knights'-table. The other servants, as they eat salted meat, almost through the whole year, and with few or no vegetables, had a very bad and unhealthy diet: so that there cannot be any thing more erroneous, than the magnificent ideas formed of the *roast beef of old England*. We must entertain as mean an idea of its cleanliness: only seventy ells of linen, at eight-pence an ell, are annually allowed for this great family: no sheets were used: this linen was made into eight table-cloths for my lord's table; and one table-cloth for the knights, p. 16. This last, I suppose, was washed only

once a month. Only forty shillings are allowed for washing throughout the whole year; and most of it seems expended on the linen belonging to the chapel. The drinking, however, was tolerable; namely, ten tuns and two hogsheads of Gascogne wine, at the rate of 4 pounds 13 shillings and 4 pence a tun, p. 6. Only ninety-one dozen of candles for the whole year, p. 14. The family rose at six in the morning, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon: the gates were all shut at nine, and no farther ingress or egress permitted, p. 314, 318. My lord and lady have set on their table for breakfast at seven o'clock in the morning a quart of beer; as much wine; two pieces of salt fish, six red-herrings, four white ones, or a dish of sprats. In flesh days half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled, p. 73, 75. Mass is ordered to be said at six o'clock, in order, says the household-book, that all my lord's servants may rise early, p. 170. Only twenty-four fires are allowed, beside the kitchen and hall, and most of these have only a peck of coals a-day allowed them, p. 99. After Lady-day, no fires permitted in the rooms, except half-fires in my lord's and lady's, and lord Piercy's and the nursery, p. 101. It is to be observed that my lord kept house in Yorkshire, where there is certainly much cold weather after Lady-day. Eighty chalders of coals at four shillings and two-pence a chalders, suffices throughout the whole year; and because coal will not burn without wood, says the household-book, sixty-four loads of great wood are also allowed, at twelve-pence a load, p. 22. This is a proof that grates were not then used. Here is an article. *It is devised that from henceforth no capons to be bought but only for my lord's own mess, and that the said capons shall be bought for two-pence a piece, lean, and fed in the poultry; and master chamberlain and the stewards be fed with capons, if there be strangers sitting with them, p.*

102. Pigs are to be bought at three-pence or a groat a piece: geese at the same price: chickens at a half-penny: hens at two-pence, and only for the above-mentioned tables. Here is another article. *Item, it is thought good that no flowers be bought at no season but only in Christmas and principal feasts, and my lord to be served therewith and his board-end, and none other, and to be bought for a penny a piece, or a penny half-penny at most,* p. 103. Woodcocks are to be bought at the same price. Partridges at two-pence, p. 104, 105. Pheasants a shilling; peacocks the same, p. 106. My lord keeps only twenty-seven horses in his stable at his own charge: his upper servants have allowance for maintaining their own horses, p. 126. These horses are, six gentle horses, as they are called, at hay and hard meat throughout the whole year, four palfreys, three hobbies and nags, three sumpter horses, six horses for those servants to whom my lord furnishes a horse, two sumpter horses more, and three mill horses, two for carrying the corn, and one for grinding it; whence we may infer that mills, either water or wind-mills, were then unknown, at least very rare: besides these, there are seven great trotting horses for the chariot or waggon. He allows a peck of oats a day, besides loaves made of beans for his principal horses; the oats at twenty pence, the beans at two shillings a quarter. The load of hay is at two shillings and eight-pence. When my lord is on a journey, he carries thirty-six horsemen along with him; together with bed and other accommodation. p. 157. The inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My lord passes the year in three country-seats, all in Yorkshire, Wrysel, Leckenfield, and Topclyffe; but he has furniture only for one: he carries every thing along with him, beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, all which, we may conclude, were so coarse, that they could not be spoilt by the carriage:

yet seventeen carts and one waggon suffices for the whole, p. 391. One cart suffices for all his kitchen utensils, cooks' beds, &c., p. 388. One remarkable circumstance is, that he has eleven priests in his house, besides seventeen persons, chanters, musicians, &c., belonging to his chapel: yet he has only two cooks for a family of 223 persons, p. 325*. Their meals were certainly dressed in the slovenly manner of a ship's company. It is amusing to observe the pompous and even royal style assumed by this Tartar chief: he does not give any orders, though only for the right making of mustard, but it is introduced with this preamble, *It seemeth good to us and our council.* If we consider the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen then lived, with the progress made by the Italians in literature and the fine arts, we shall not wonder that they considered the ultramontane nations as barbarous. The Flemish also seem to have much excelled the English, and even the French. Yet the earl is sometimes not deficient in generosity: he pays for instance an annual pension of a groat a year to my lady of Walsingham, for her interest in heaven; the same sum to the holy blood at Hales, p. 337. No mention is any where made of plate; but only of the hiring of pewter vessels. The servants seem all to have bought their own clothes from their wages.

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Indolence.

If industry is no more than habit, it is, at least, an excellent one. If you ask me which is the real hereditary sin of human nature, do you imagine I shall answer pride, or luxury, or ambition, or egotism?

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Perseverance.

All the performances of human art, at which we look with praise or wonder, are instances of the resistless force of perseverance; it is by this that the quarry becomes a pyramid, and that distant countries are united by canals. If a man was to compare the effect of a single stroke with the pick-axe, or of one impression of a spade, with the general design and last result, he would be overwhelmed with the sense of their disproportion; yet those petty operations, incessantly continued, in time surmount the greatest difficulties; and mountains are levelled, and oceans bounded, by the slender force of human beings. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance, that those who have any intention of deviating from the beaten roads of life, and acquiring a reputation superior to names hourly swept away by time among the refuse of fame, should add to their reason, and their spirit, the power of persisting in their purposes; acquire the art of sapping what they cannot batter; and the habit of vanquishing obstinate resistance by obstinate attacks.

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Characters enervated by Prosperity feel the smallest inconvenience as a serious calamity; and, unable to bear the touch of rude and violent hands, require to be treated, like young and tender flowers, with delicacy and attention; while those who have been educated in the rough school of Adversity walk over the thorns of life with a firm and intrepid step, and kick them from the path with indifference and contempt. Superior to the false opinions and prejudices of the world, they bear with patient fortitude the blow of misfortune, disregard all

trifling injuries, and look down with proud contempt on the malice of their enemies, and the infidelity of their friends.

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Attention.

It is the power of attention which in a great measure distinguishes the wise and the great from the vulgar and trifling herd of men. The latter are accustomed to think, or rather to dream, without knowing the subject of their thoughts. In their unconnected roving, they pursue no end, they follow no track; every thing floats loose and disjointed on the surface of their minds, like leaves scattered and blown about on the face of the waters.

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For the Literary Magazine.

DRAWING OF THE LOTTERY AT
NAPLES.

From the French.

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immense full bottomed perukes; these are gentlemen, very well paid, for coming once a fortnight, and enduring a quarter of an hour's weariness, in a convenient situation. The boy who, as usual in other countries, draws the numbers, is loaded with images of saints: he is blessed and drenched with holy water before he commences his labours. Nearly two thousand persons are squeezed together in this hall; and although every window and door is open, yet the air is so loaded with mephitic vapours, that, I incline to think, no candle would burn in it. The hootings and hisses of the mad-headed populace are yet more intolerable, if possible, than the offensive exhalations. Often might a spectator ask himself, whether he were not in a mad-house? If one of the commissioners comes rather late, he is received with reproaches and hisses enough to turn the head of the most sagacious counsellor. When the wheel goes round, the shout of the spectators is horrible.

The first drawn ticket, being given by the boy who drew it to one of the commissioners, he gave it to a lazzaroni who stood behind him. Instantly the hall resounded with shouts of applause and screams of joy; the second number, on the contrary, was received with expressions of chagrin. I went out at this instant, to escape the crowd. On the stair-case, I met another personage, whose attentions were directed to the purse: it was a pious good soul, who, speculating on the numerous assembly, took this opportunity of soliciting donations on behalf of the souls in purgatory. The idea was a good one, especially was it applicable before the drawing begun to those who were interested in the event, because, at that time, every one would hope his good works might be rewarded by the favours of fortune. The stair-case was moreover filled with lame beggars; and in order to comprize every characteristic of the Neapolitans, superstition, gambling, poverty, and filth were huddled to-

gether. On a second floor every kind of nastiness was permitted and practised. When a number was drawn, it was announced through a window, to an agent placed in the street, for the purpose, who proceeded instantly to inform the administration of the lottery, and, as he went, communicated his intelligence to the curious. Directly as the people perceived from a distance the approach of one of these agents, a general exclamation ensued, and thousands of hands waved in the air, for the Neapolitans do nothing without action. All spoke together, during half a minute, to communicate their deep reflections among their neighbours: after which they waited till another messenger appeared. The fury of lottery gaming is more excessive here than in other places, because here superstition finds most room for its exercise: and the Neapolitans are determined in the choice of their numbers by the most despicable artifices, such as calculation to predict their success, &c. The folly of this infernal game has infected the whole population, and even the beggars commit to chance the very alms they have received.

For the Literary Magazine.

ANECDOTES OF LINNÆUS.

From Acerbi's Travels.

A LADY of the province of Upsala, who had never been beyond its boundaries, applied to a friend of Linnæus for a letter of recommendation, that she might have an opportunity of making the acquaintance of this eminent character, and, at the same time, see his collection. The philosopher received her with much politeness, and, as he was showing her the museum, the good lady was so filled with astonishment at the sight of an assemblage of such a number of different objects, upon each of which Linnæus had always

something to remark, that she exclaimed with a sigh, *I no longer wonder that Linnæus is so well known over the whole province of Upsala!* Linnæus, who, instead of the province of Upsala, expected to hear the whole universe, was so shocked, that he would show her nothing more of the museum, and sent the lady away quite confounded at the change of his humour, and at the same time firmly believing that her high encomium had wounded the feelings of the great philosopher.

One day, being in a melancholy temper, he gave orders that no person should be admitted to him, and placed himself, in his bed-gown and night-cap, sad and pensive, upon his sofa. An officer in the Swedish service arrived with a party of ladies, who had made a journey for the express purpose of seeing the Linnæan collection. The officer was denied admittance; but, being aware of Linnæus' caprice, he would not be refused by the servant, but pushed by him, and entered the chamber where Linnæus was sitting. At first some indignation was shown at this intrusion; but the officer introduced the ladies with a most extravagant panegyric to the illustrious philosopher, who was the sole object of their journey; to the man whom the whole world allowed to be the greatest; to that man who had put Nature herself to the rack, in order to discover her dearest secrets, &c. Linnæus's surly humour instantly forsook him, and he never appeared more amiable in his manners than to this officer, whom he embraced tenderly, calling him his true friend, &c. He was so singularly enamoured with praise, that his mind was never in that sedate state which would have enabled him to distinguish true commendation from flattery and deception. The clergyman, who at first did not credit such reports, was convinced of their reality by one of his friends, who composed so ridiculous a eulogy for Linnæus, that the weakest child might have treated it as a farce or satire; it was worded in the bombast of the middle ages,

or in the Asiatic style: he called him the sun of botanists, the Jupiter of the literati, the secretary of Nature, an ocean of science, a moving mountain of erudition, and other appellations to the same effect. Linnæus, far from feeling displeasure at such excessive and ridiculous compliments, interrupted the panegyrist at each phrase, embracing him, and calling him his dearest friend.

For the Literary Magazine.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ISLANDS
OF JUAN FERNANDEZ AND
MASA FUERO, IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

THE island of Juan Fernandez has frequently been described by the early navigators of the Pacific ocean, who touched there for refreshments, and by the freebooters who made it a place of resort for the rendezvous of their forces or the division of their spoil. At a convenient distance from the coast of Peru, unsettled and unfortified, abounding in almost every requisite for refitting, revictualling, wooding, and watering, it became not only a desirable station, but was long an unsuspected or despised retreat. The dormant vigilance, however, of the Spaniards, was at length aroused, and a settlement was made in 1766 or 1767 upon the island of Juan Fernandez. In the latter year, captain Carteret, on his voyage round the world, upon opening Cumberland bay, was surprised to find the island in possession of the Spaniards, who had built a fort, on which the Spanish colours were flying and some cannon mounted. Many cattle were seen on the hills, and about twenty houses on different parts of the island. Carteret neither anchored nor had any communication with the shore, but sailed immediately for Masa Fuero. Since that time no accounts have been given to the public respecting

it; for, with the characteristic jealousy of the nation, access to its shores was denied to strangers almost without exception. An intelligent and zealous navigator, however, lieutenant John Moss, of the British navy, then commanding the ship *William* on the southern whale and seal fishery, visited both Juan Fernandez and the adjacent island of *Masa Fuero*, in the year 1792. It is from his MSS. that the following account of the modern state of those islands is given, and may be not unacceptable to the public, contrasted with the accounts which have appeared of its former state, when uninhabited and uncultivated.

Juan Fernandez lies in latitude $33^{\circ} 40'$ S. and $80^{\circ} 30'$ W. from Greenwich*. In making this island captain Moss first stood along the west side of it, and at noon came abreast of the north point. He was not aware of its having been settled by the Spaniards, and went in the boat to see if there was a safe anchorage, and to catch fish. In hauling round the north-west point, he was surprized to find the place fortified, and a small village in the valley. He immediately landed, and applied to the governor for leave to anchor and to fish. Neither request, however, was formally granted; but getting into a position where none of the guns could bear on the boat, he caught as many fish as served the whole ship's company.

In making the island from the westward, it appears elevated at the north end, and slopes away towards the south, with a remarkable islet or large rock detached about half a mile off the south point. At a distance the whole island appears like an entire rock; but on a nearer approach the intersecting vallies discover themselves, and display a fine

scene of verdure, being covered with wood. The west side affords no anchorage, nor any landing-place, the cliffs rising almost perpendicularly from the sea. When abreast of the north-west point, the first valley or landing-place opens where there is anchorage in fourteen fathom water, but quite in an open and exposed situation. Here the Spaniards have a guard-house and one gun. About half a mile to the east-north-east is the great bay (*Cumberland bay* of the buccaneers), which is land-locked from east to north-west by west; but there is no anchorage in less than forty fathoms, till within half a cable's length of the shore. The town or village is very pleasantly situated in a fine valley between two high hills. A battery of five guns is placed just round the west point of the harbour, and commands the road, though it is very possible to land without a gun being brought to bear on the boats. This battery is built of loose stones, piled up breast high, and forming embrasures, without mortar or any kind of cement. On the left of the valley, on a little eminence, another battery was then constructing of masonry; it has two faces, with fourteen embrasures in each, one face pointing to the anchorage, and the other flanking the village; there were only five guns mounted on that side which faces the road, and one on the other. By cutting a serpentine path along the side of the western hill, two small guns have been got to the top of it. According to the report of the commandant, however, the whole force on the island, in January, 1792, consisted of six soldiers, and forty of the settlers armed and trained. Captain Moss was not at that time permitted to refresh his crew at Juan Fernandez. He saw great numbers of goats on the sides of every hill, and regretted much that he could not be allowed to stay, on account of the progress of the scurvy on board his ship, which would have been speedily arrested by the fresh venison, fish, and vegetables to be obtained there.

* Dampier assigns its situation in $34^{\circ} 45'$ S. latitude, 84° W. longitude; but the publisher of *Anson's Voyage*, as well as captain Sharp, placing it in the latitude of $33^{\circ} 40'$, are confirmed by captain Moss.

On the 15th of November, 1792, however, he touched a second time at Juan Fernández, and when within three miles of the great bay, went on shore to obtain the governor's permission to cut wood. This time leave was most readily granted by the governor, don Juan Calvo de la Canteza, who supplied all the wants of the English as much as was in his power. He ordered his own people to assist in cutting wood, and his oxen to draw it to the water side. A small present, which captain Moss, from his nearly exhausted stock, made to the governor in return for his civilities, consisted of a dozen of wine, a dozen of plates, two dishes, half a dozen of wine-glasses, a small pot of pickles, and a pair of new boots. In return he presented captain Moss with a loaf of sugar, four fine sheep, a large quantity of vegetables, milk, and as much craw-fish as he wanted. He also allowed him to purchase the flesh of two bullocks jerked, which cost a mere trifle.

There are about forty houses in the town, and several in different parts of the island. Every house has a garden, with arbours of grape vines, forming a delightful shade. Figs, cherries, plumbs, and almonds appeared, all green, and abundance of potatoes, cabbages, onions, thyme, and other vegetables and herbs; but none of them in perfection, as a kind of grub is said in a great measure to destroy the kitchen gardens.

The dress of the women is very singular: they wear a petticoat which reaches only a little below the knee, and which is spread out by a hoop at the bottom to a great distance round them, leaving the legs entirely exposed, and, were it not for the drawers they wear, all below the waist might be seen when they stoop. They wear long hair, plaited into forty or fifty small braids, which hang straight down the back. This dress, the governor stated, was likewise that of the ladies of Peru and Chili. In every house that captain Moss entered, he was presented by the women with *maté*, the infu-

sion of the herb of Paraguay, which they suck up through a pipe or tube, which serves more than one person, and is handed over from one to the other. The women were in general handsome, and every house swarmed with children. In one to which captain Moss paid a visit, there was a young woman only twenty years of age, who had six children, and was again pregnant.

Strangers who fall in with Juan Fernandez and Masa Fuero may mistake the one for the other, as they both lie in the same latitude, though they are very different. The north end of Juan Fernandez is highest, while Masa Fuero is lowest to the north. This circumstance, and the small island which lies off the south end of Juan Fernandez, are distinctive marks to be depended on. The two islands lie eighty miles from each other, but one has been seen from the other in a clear day.

The island of Masa Fuero is uninhabited, except by seals and goats. It lies in latitude $33^{\circ} 41'$ south, and longitude $81^{\circ} 40'$ west. There is no practicable landing-place on the north end of the island, on account of the prodigious surf; and on the east side, where captain Moss landed, it is so bad, that the people were obliged to swim through the surf, after procuring some boat-loads of seal skins. Seals abound here, and the shores are covered with them. There is likewise plenty of wood, but difficult to be got off: in one of the vallies four or five cords of wood were found, which the heavy surf prevented them from getting away, as it probably had done the persons who cut it. The wood is principally a kind of red cedar, and a sort of hard yellow wood like box, capable of taking a fine polish. During the time the William remained at the island, goats enough were caught to afford the crew a constant supply of fresh provisions; and abundance of fish may likewise be taken in a very short time. Captain Moss saw large and small hawks there; the

smallest no bigger than a goldfinch, and something like it. Living wholly undisturbed by man in this distant spot, these birds were quite tame. A wild cabbage was found, but it would not boil soft; the sailors, however, eat it. The island is distant from the main land of South America one hundred and forty leagues, and eighty miles west of Juan Fernandez. The south end is the highest, its cliffs being almost perpendicular from the sea, and in the calmest weather it has a bad surf breaking on it. The north end is also high, but a fine green low point stretches from the bottom of the cliff to the northward, a perfect level of at least a mile and a half. The east side of the island is the most pleasing, being split into vallies which are rich in verdure, covered with trees, and abounding with flowers of the lily and violet kinds. A copious stream of water runs down every valley, and expands in its descent amongst the rocks into several successive reservoirs, which hold large quantities. But the seals play in these waters so far up the vallies, that the water has a bad taste, unless it is taken from above the places which they frequent.

Masa Fuero yields all the refreshments that can reasonably be wished, and if it afforded good anchorage, it would be a very desirable place for ships to touch at; but it does not, though there are places where an anchor may be let go in foul ground. On a temporary visit, however, standing off and on answers every purpose, and nothing but great distress can warrant anchoring here. When under weigh, a vessel is ready to shift as the wind does, thereby always keeping on the lee side of the island, for it is impossible to land on the weather side. All ships that come here for seals should have a strong built boat to anchor behind the surf, where she might be loaded by hauling them off. Captain Moss had his boats staved in one of his attempts to land, the surf running so high, and break-

ing a considerable distance from the shore. On the east side there is a small inlet that has good landing when the wind is from S. W. to N. N. W., but the wind at S. E. blows right in. It is the only place they saw where a boat could be hauled up. They got there 2100 seals in the few days of their stay. Captain Moss called this inlet Enderby's Cove, in compliment to one of his owners.

For the Literary Magazine.

GARNERIN'S NOCTURNAL ASCENSION.

GARNERIN, the celebrated aeronaut, has addressed the following letter to the editors of one of the Paris journals:

Gentlemen, before I undertake the second nocturnal aerial voyage, which will take place at Tivoli on Saturday, the 19th of September, I ought to give some account of that which I performed in the night between the 4th and 5th of August last.

My balloon was lighted by 20 lamps. Many persons felt some alarm from the number of these lights, and their proximity to the balloon, in case a diminution of the pressure in the upper regions should oblige me to let out the hydrogen gas by the lower orifices. They feared lest, in this case, the gas should find its way to the lights, take fire, and communicate the flames to the balloon. I had foreseen this inconvenience. In the first place, the balloon, which was the same in which I ascended at Milan, was only two-thirds filled, that I might defer the emission of the gas as long as possible; in the next, the nearest lamps to the balloon were 14 feet distant from it; and lastly, conductors were placed in such a manner as to convey the gas away in a direction contrary to the lights.

Having made these arrange-

ments, I felt no hesitation to undertake a nocturnal voyage. I ascended from Tivoli, at 11 at night, under the Russian flag, as a token of peace. There was not any decided current in the atmosphere, but only undulations, which tossed me about, I believe a great part of the night. To this it was owing, that I was first carried towards St. Cloud, and afterwards brought back over Vincennes, in a diametrically opposite direction. How favourable this circumstance would have been to the speculations of those who pretend to direct balloons! I was in the full force of my ascension when the fire-works of Tivoli were let off; the rockets scarcely seemed to rise from the earth; Paris, with its lamps, appeared a plain, studded with luminous spots. Forty minutes after my departure I attained an elevation of 2200 fathoms; the thermometer fell 3 degrees below 0. My balloon dilated considerably as it passed through a cloud; in which the lights lost their brilliancy, and seemed ready to be extinguished. It was as urgent to give vent to the hydrogen gas, dilated to such a degree as to threaten to burst the balloon, as it was interesting to collect some of the air of this region. Both these operations I performed at once without difficulty; and the emission of the gas brought me to a milder region.

At 12 o'clock I was only 600 fathoms from the earth, and heard the barking of dogs. A quarter of an hour afterwards I lost sight of all the lights on the earth, grew extremely cold, and could no longer perceive the stars, doubtless on account of the clouds.

At one in the morning, the cold still continuing, I was carried to a higher elevation; the hydrogen gas again expanded. About two, I perceived the stars, and saw several meteors dancing about the balloon, but at such a distance, as not to give me any alarm.

At half after two, the day began to dawn with me, and having again descended, I perceived the earth,

which I had not before seen since my departure.

At a quarter to three, I heard country people speak, and remarking the illumination of my balloon. Having asked them, they informed me that I was over the department of L'Aisne.

The sun gradually approaching, afforded me, at half past three, the magnificent spectacle of his rising above an ocean of clouds. The warmth of his rays acting on the balloon, the hydrogen gas again expanded; the atmospheric air became more rarified; while there was nothing to add to the quantity of the counterbalancing weight. The consequence was a new ascension, during which I was tossed about Rheims and Chalons, and carried at four o'clock to an elevation of more than 8000 fathoms; there, under a magnificent sky and a resplendent sun, I experienced a cold of ten degrees. The balloon dilated much more considerably than it had yet done. The temperature was insupportable; tormented by cold, hunger, and a disposition to sleep, I resolved to descend, in an oblique direction, which brought me to the ground in the commune of Courmelois, near the banks of the Vesle, five leagues from Rheims, not far from Loges, and 45 leagues from Paris, after a voyage of seven hours and a half.

The air collected forty minutes after my departure in a cloud, in which the lights lost their brilliancy, and seemed on the point of going out, presented, on analysis, no remarkable difference from the air taken on the surface of the earth. There was only a very small additional portion of carbonic acid, but not sufficient to produce any change in the state of my lights. It was nothing but the density of the clouds, ready to be converted into rain, that diminished their brilliancy. Though I was carried, at four o'clock, to the height of more than three thousand fathoms, my head was not so swollen but that I could put on my hat; on the contrary, I

felt such a pressure upon the temples and jaws, as to produce pain. The sun, at that elevation, lost none of his resplendence; I never beheld that luminary so brilliant; and the loadstone lost none of its magnetic virtues. Thus falls the system invented by M. Robertson, a few years since, and already discredited by reason; thus the story of swollen heads; of air without oxygen, collected by a living being; of the sun without resplendence; of the loadstone without virtue; of matter without gravity; of the moon the colour of blood; and of all the wonderful things invented by the same aeronaut, can, in future, find a place only in the wretched rhapsodies of the celebrated Kotzebue.

GARNERIN.

For the Literary Magazine.

ON THE PROBABLE PERIOD WHEN
THE POTATOE PLANT WAS
FIRST INTRODUCED INTO THE
BRITISH ISLES.

THE potatoe now in use (the *solanum tuberosum*) was brought into England by the colonists sent out by sir Walter Raleigh, under queen Elizabeth's patent. Mr. Thomas Herriot, a mathematician, was aboard the first fleet, which returned to England on the 27th July, 1586, when the potatoe was probably first brought over: for Mr. Herriot, in an account which he published of the nature and properties of the soil of the country examined, which is printed in De Bry's collection of voyages, vol. I, under the article roots, describes potatoe by the name openawk (by which they were called in Virginia), "as round roots, some as large as walnuts, and others much larger, which grew in damp soil, many hanging together as if fixed ropes; which are good food either boiled or roasted."

Gerard, in his Herbal, published 1597, gives a figure of the potatoe,

under the name of potatoe of Virginia.

In the manuscript minutes of the Royal Society, Dec. 13, 1693, sir Robert Southwell, then president, informed the fellows, that his grandfather brought potatoes into Ireland, who first had them from sir Walter Raleigh. From which it appears that this root, shortly after its arrival in England, must have been sent to Ireland by sir Robert Southwell's ancestor, where it was cultivated as food, long before its value was known in England; for Gerard, in 1597, recommends the roots as a delicate dish, not as a common food.

The potatoe, however, came into Europe at an earlier period by another channel; Clusius, who resided at Vienna at that time, received this root in 1598 from the governor of Mons, in Hainault, who had it the year before from one of the attendants of the pope's legate, under the name of Taratoufli, and learned from him, that in Italy, where it was then in use, no one certainly knew whether it came from Spain, or from America.

Peter Ceica, in his Chronicle, printed in 1553, mentions, in the tenth chapter, that the inhabitants of Quito used for food, besides mays, a tuberous root which they called papas; and this Clusius supposes to be the plant he received from Flanders, which conjecture is confirmed by the accounts of other travellers. From these details it appears probable, that potatoes were first brought into Europe from the mountainous parts of Quito; and as the Spaniards were sole possessors of that country, there can be little doubt that they were first brought to Spain; but as it would take some time to bring them into use in that country, and afterwards to make the Italians so well acquainted with them as to give them a name, there is every reason to believe, they had been several years in Europe before they were sent to Clusius.

In South America the root is called papas, and, in Virginia, ope-

nawk. The name of potatoe was therefore evidently applied to it here from its similarity to the battata, or sweet potatoe, and was distinguished by the appellation of Virginia potatoes till the year 1640, if not longer.

Some authors have asserted that sir Francis Drake first discovered potatoes in the South Seas, and others that they were introduced into England by sir John Hawkins: but, in both instances, the plant alluded to is evidently the sweet potatoe, which was used in England as a delicacy long before the introduction of our potatoes: the sweet potatoe was imported in considerable quantities from Spain and the Canaries, and was supposed to possess the power of restoring decayed vigour. The kissing comfits which Shakspeare mentions in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and other confections of similar imaginary qualities, with which our ancestors were duped, were principally made of these and eringo roots.

The sweet potatoes themselves were sold by itinerant dealers, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, to those who had faith in their alleged properties. The allusions to this opinion are very frequent in the plays of that age, of which there is a remarkable instance in Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. To this we shall add, that as there was an early and frequent intercourse between Spain and Galway, in Ireland, there is some reason to conjecture that the potatoe might have been introduced into Ireland, directly from Spain, at a very early period.

For the Literary Magazine.

DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS, OR
FORT ST. GEORGE, AND ITS
ENVIRONS.

From Hodges' Travels in 1780—3.

THE whole extent of the coast of Coromandel is an even, low, san-

dy country; and about Madras the country rises so little and so gradually from the sea, that the spectator is scarcely able to mark the distinction, till he is assisted by the appearance of the different objects which present themselves upon the shore.

The English town, rising from within Fort St. George, has from the sea a rich and beautiful appearance; the houses being covered with a stucco called chunam, which in itself is nearly as compact as the finest marble, and, as it bears as high a polish, is equally splendid with that elegant material. The style of the buildings is in general handsome. They consist of long colonades, with open porticoes, and flat roofs, and offer to the eye an appearance similar to what we may conceive of a Grecian city in the age of Alexander. The clear, blue, cloudless sky, the polished white buildings, the bright sandy beach, and the dark green sea, present a combination totally new to the eye of an Englishman, just arrived from London, who, accustomed to the sight of rolling masses of clouds floating in a damp atmosphere, cannot but contemplate the difference with delight: and the eye being thus gratified, the mind soon assumes a gay and tranquil habit, analogous to the pleasing objects with which it is surrounded.

Some time before the ship arrives at her anchoring ground, she is hailed by the boats of the country, filled with people of business, who come in crowds on board. This is the moment in which a European feels the great distinction between Asia and his own country. The rustling of fine linen, and the general hum of unusual conversation, presents to his mind for a moment the idea of an assembly of females. When he ascends upon the deck, he is struck with the long muslin dresses and black faces adorned with very large gold ear-rings and white turbans. The first salutation he receives from these strangers is by bending their bodies very low, touching the deck

with the back of the hand, and the forehead three times.

The natives first seen in India by a European voyager, are Hindoos, the original inhabitants of the peninsula. In this part of India they are delicately framed; their hands, in particular, are more like those of tender females; and do not appear to be what is considered a proper proportion to the rest of the person, which is usually above the middle size. Correspondent to this delicacy of appearance are their manners, mild, tranquil, and sedulously attentive: in this last respect they are indeed remarkable, as they never interrupt any person who is speaking, but wait patiently till he has concluded; and then answer with the most perfect respect and composure.

From the ship a stranger is conveyed on shore in a boat of the country, called a massoolah boat: a work of curious construction, and well calculated to elude the violent shocks of the surf, that breaks here with great violence: they are formed without a keel, flat-bottomed, with the sides raised high, and sowed together with the fibres of the cocoa-nut tree, and caulked with the same material: they are remarkably light, and are managed with great dexterity by the natives; they are usually attended by two kattamarans (rafts), paddled by one man each, the intention of which is, that, should the boat be upset by the violence of the surf, the persons in it may be preserved. The boat is driven, as the sailors say, high and dry; and the passengers are landed on a fine, sandy beach, and immediately enter the fort of Madras.

The appearance of the natives is exceedingly varied: some are wholly naked, and others so clothed, that nothing but the face and neck is to be discovered; beside this, the European is struck at first with many other objects, such as women carried on men's shoulders on palanquins, and men riding on horseback clothed in linen dresses like women: which, united with the very different face of the country from all he had ever

seen or conceived of, excite the strongest emotions of surprise.

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which I felt myself actuated on this occasion; all that I saw filled my mind with expectations of what was yet unseen. I prepared therefore eagerly for a tour through the country; but my route was scarcely fixed, when I was interrupted by the great scourge of human nature, the great enemy of the arts, war, which, with horrors perhaps unknown to the civilized regions of Europe, descended like a torrent over the whole face of the country, driving the peaceful husbandman from his plough, and the manufacturer from his loom. On the 18th of July, 1780, I was a melancholy witness to its effects, the multitude coming in from all quarters to Madras as a place of refuge, bearing on their shoulders the small remains of their little property, mothers with infants at their breasts, fathers leading their horses burthened with their young families, others sitting on the miserable remains of their fortunes on a hackery, and dragged through the dust by weary bullocks: every object was marked by confusion and dismay, from the 18th to the 21st, the numbers daily increasing; and it was supposed that within the space of three days not less than two hundred thousand of the country people were received within the black town of Madras. The government behaved on this melancholy occasion with their usual humanity and liberality; and not only public but private relief was afforded them to a considerable amount.

Those poor people were soon afterwards distributed to the northward, and into the sircars; which are lands that lie to the northward of Madras, and but of late years ceded to the English government.

Mr. Smith was at this period at the head of the government of Madras: and the solicitous attention of his lady, to relieve the private inconvenience of many English families, who were also obliged to take

shelter within the walls of the fort, must ever be remembered with respect.

Every object that now presented itself to the imagination bore the same threatening and calamitous aspect: the country houses of the English, within one mile of the fort, were stripped of their furniture, by the owners, even to the doors and window-blinds; this, indeed, was no more than necessary, as the enemy extended their depredations even to the walls of Madras; and no security could be found without the fort, until the camp was formed at the Mount, a place about ten English miles west of Madras. Every one now possessing a house within the fort, was happy in accommodating the family of his friend, who before had resided on Choultry plain.

The troops being collected from different quarters, with provisions and a proper train of artillery, the vanquished spirits of the people appeared to revive; and the reytot was again seen cultivating his rice fields, or collecting the fruits. Nothing less was expected when the army took the field, but that Hyder Ally would very soon be escorted by a party of our troops into Fort St. George, and there make a public atonement for the miseries he had occasioned. This vision soon vanished, in the unhappy fate of colonel Baillie's detachment, and the return of the army from a three weeks' campaign, reduced in its numbers and dispirited by its losses. These circumstances are too strongly marked in the page of history to make it necessary to recount their particulars in a descriptive work like this. The arrival of sir Eyre Coote from Bengal, with money and other supplies, in September, and the active measures pursued by that gallant officer, restored confidence to the troops; and the most sanguine hopes of the inhabitants from his exertions were not disappointed.

The opportunities that offer to a painter are few, in a country which

is over-run by an active enemy. I made, however, among others, a drawing of Marmalong bridge, which is a very modern work, built, as I am informed, at the private expence of an Armenian merchant. It is over a small river that runs near the mount, and falls into the sea at a little distance before the village of St. Thomas, four miles to the southward of Madras. The Portuguese had formerly a considerable settlement at this village. The church and the dwelling-houses of a few Portuguese families yet remain here. The legendary tale of the Roman catholic church is, that St. Thomas the apostle, in the course of his mission to India, suffered martyrdom on the spot where the church is built.

The settlement of Madras was formed by the English at or about the middle of the last century, and was a place of no real consequence, but for its trade, until the war so ably carried on by general Stringer Lawrence, from the years 1748 to 1752; and which originated from the claims of Chunda Saib, in opposition to our ally, Mahomed Ally Cawn, the present nabob of Arcot; from which period the English may be considered as sovereigns. In the school of this able officer the lord Clive received his military education.

Fort St. George, or Madras, rises, as has been already intimated, from the margin of the sea, and is allowed by the ablest engineers to be a place of considerable strength. It was planned by the ingenious Mr. Robins, author of lord Anson's voyages, who was eminent for his general and philosophical, as well as for his mathematical knowledge. Since his time, many works have been added.

In Fort St. George are many handsome and spacious streets. The houses may be considered as elegant, and particularly so from the beautiful material with which they are finished, the chunam. The inner apartments are not highly decorated, presenting to the eye only white

walls; which, however, from the marble-like appearance of the stucco, give a freshness grateful in so hot a country. Ceilings are very uncommon in the rooms. Indeed, it is impossible to find any which will resist the ravages of that destructive insect, the white ant. These animals are chiefly formidable from the immensity of their numbers, which are such as to destroy, in one night's time, a ceiling of any dimensions. I saw an instance in the ceiling to a portico of the admiralty, or governor's house, which fell in flakes of twenty feet square. It is the wood-work, which serves for the basis of the ceilings, such as the laths, beams, &c., that these insects attack; and this will serve to explain the circumstance I have just mentioned.

The houses on Choultry plain are many of them beautiful pieces of architecture, the apartments spacious and magnificent. I know not that I ever felt more delight than in going on a visit to a family on Choultry plain, soon after my arrival at Madras, in the cool of the evening, after a very hot day. The moon shone in its fullest lustre, not a cloud overcast the sky, and every house on the plain was illuminated. Each family, with their friends, were in the open porticoes, enjoying the breeze. Such a scene appears more like a tale of enchantment than a reality, to the imagination of a stranger just arrived.

There are few objects to be met with here, which serve to illustrate the history or characters of the original inhabitants of India. One, however, is too curious to be omitted, and that is a beautiful Hindoo temple, or pagoda, at Tripplecane, two miles south of Madras. It is of considerable magnitude; and the top of the building rising considerably above the trees, it is seen all over the country. Adjoining to the temple is a large tank, with steps descending to the bottom, filled with water. The whole is of stone, and the masonry excellent. On the surface of the temple are many basso relievos, which I suppose to relate

to the religion of the Hindoos; but whether they are connected with the rites and worship of Bramah or not, I am not able to say; for some of them are of the most indecent kind. I made an accurate drawing of this building, which was sent to England, and lost on board the General Barker, East Indiaman, when that ship was wrecked on the coast of Holland, in 1781; but as I have made drawings of other Hindoo temples, I less lament the loss.

For the Literary Magazine.

LITERARY, PHILOSOPHICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND AGRICULTURAL INTELLIGENCE.

BY a recent census, it appears that, on the 1st December, 1807, there were contained in the city and county of New York,

Males	39,991
Females	41,763
Male slaves	658
Female do.	1,118

Total	83,530
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The following table exhibits the population, as taken at different periods:

In 1697	4,302
1756	15,000
1771	21,863
1786	23,614
1791	33,131
1801	60,489
1805	75,770
1807	83,530

By which it appears that the population has more than tripled from 1786 to 1805, a period of twenty years.

The whole debt of the United States, on the 1st of January, 1807, was 67,727,756 dollars.

By appealing to official documents we find:

That in a period of twenty years

the population of this country has increased nearly 3,000,000.

That the dwelling-houses have in the same period increased from 640,000 to 1,225,000.

That the improved lands have risen from 1,120,000 to 2,390,400 acres.

That the average price per acre has risen from two to six dollars.

That the number of horses has increased from 600,000 to 1,200,000, and the horned cattle from 1,200,000 to 2,950,000.

That the merchant vessels have increased from 250,000 to 1,207,000.

That the imports have risen from 11 to 80 millions of dollars.

That the exports of domestic produce have increased from 9 to 42 millions.

And the exports of foreign goods from 1 to 36 millions.

That the national revenues have increased, in a period of twelve years, from 8 to nearly 17 millions of dollars, while the expenditures, making an allowance for the extinguishment of the principal of the debt, have been nearly stationary.

That the specie in circulation has risen in the period of twenty years from ten to seventeen millions.

The secretary of war has received from New Orleans two grisly bears. They are, as their names indicate, of a grey colour, and in their native woods grow to an immense size, it is said so as to weigh 7 or 800 wt., and are then extremely fierce. The animals sent to Gen. Dearborn were caught when very young, and are now perfectly tame. Grisly bears are so fierce and formidable that the Indians never attack them, except in large companies; in which case generally one or more of them become a sacrifice to their temerity. Governor Lewis, when in the Missouri country, was pursued by a grisly bear, and to save himself dashed into the river, where he remained up to his neck in water; while the bear, unable to pursue him (for one of the peculiarities

of this species is an incapability of taking the water), remained growling for some time on the bank; at last it retired to the woods, and left our distinguished traveller rejoicing at his ability to rejoin his companions. These bears are considered as great curiosities, and are to be sent to Peale's museum in Philadelphia, for the inspection of the curious.

We learn that an immensely valuable white marble quarry has been discovered at Sing-Sing (Mount Pleasant) on the North River, about 85 miles from New York. It is allowed by judges to be equal to that imported from Philadelphia or from Stockbridge quarry.

The Prince of Peace has just caused to be published, in the Gazette of Madrid, a notice, of which the following is an extract:

The ship *La Plata*, belonging to the Philippine company, and commanded by D. J. B. Montervede, going from Manilla to Lima, discovered, on the 18th February, 1806, a group of islands, the most southern of which is situated about 3 degrees 27 minutes of north latitude, 162 degrees 5 minutes of longitude to the eastward of Cadiz. These islands, 29 in number, occupy a space of ten leagues from N. E. to S. E., and are separated by channels, one or two leagues wide; they are low, and intersected by forests and rivulets. Their inhabitants are of the most pacific disposition. They are tall and well made, robust and agile; their complexion is of an olive colour; their noses flat, and hair black and curled, but rather long.

The following notice respecting the comet has been given in the *Moniteur* of the 8th of October. Mr. Pons, belonging to the observatory at Marseilles, was the first astronomer who discovered the comet in France, on the 20th of last

month; and M. Thuis, of the said establishment, noticed it on the 21st and 22d. From the observations which they communicated to the astronomers at Paris, M. Burckhardt determined the following orbit, which he presented to the class of mathematical and philosophical sciences of the National Institute, on the 5th of this month: Passage to the perihelion, 25th September, three, A. M.; distance of the perihelion 0,6158; perihelion $291^{\circ} 4'$; nucleus $267^{\circ} 47'$; inclination $48^{\circ} 4'$; movement direct. These hints, says M. Burckhardt, will be sufficient to calculate the route of the comet, but it may be discovered without any trouble, as it is distinguishable by the naked eye as soon as night has closed. It is now (September 25th) to the left of Arc-turus, between the stars of the boreal crown and those of Libra to the west. Its motion is one degree per day towards the north, and rather more than a degree towards the east. This comet was also seen on the 28th at Vezoul, and M. Flaugergues perceived it on the 26th at Viviers. It seemed to him like a white nebulous spot, very brilliant, and similar to a star of the second magnitude. It was surrounded by a nebulosity of about six minutes in diameter, and had a tail about a degree and a half in length. It is the opinion of the Institute that this comet is different from any with which we are acquainted.

A letter from Munich, dated October 8, says:

"On the 1st inst. a comet was observed in the north-west of the horizon; it is large, and rather pale. Its tail appearing direct towards the earth, prevents a correct judgment being formed of its length. Yesterday, at 7 o'clock in the evening, that phenomenon again appeared. In the last century three comets were seen, one in 1709, one in 1740, and the other in 1768.

On the evening of the 11th September, was felt at Nieuwied, and

its environs, a strong shock of an earthquake, accompanied with some very remarkable circumstances. The noise, which was heard at the moment of the commotion, resembled the rattling of carriages proceeding with great velocity. The fishermen on the Rhine saw numbers of fish thrown out of the water. The wind suddenly ceased, the sky became suddenly thick with clouds, and towards midnight a shock again occurred, which was followed by a third, about three in the morning. On the preceding day there was a sharp frost, which in many places congealed the water. No lives were lost by the event.

Launch of earl Stanhope's new invented vessel.—Yesterday the launch of this curious constructed vessel, invented by earl Stanhope, took place in the pond in Kensington gardens, opposite the palace, where it was brought in an unfinished state last week from Mr. Keating's, carpenter, in Castle-street, Oxford-street. The workmen were ever since busy in completing it, and had not entirely finished it before three o'clock yesterday afternoon. It is thirty feet long by seven wide: it has a round bottom, both ends being sharp something like a weaver's shuttle. The sides were painted yellow, with the port holes on the sides; and windows at each end, painted to imitate real. On each side, towards each end (as it was made to sail either way without putting about), were three gills, which opened out, or closed, by means of pulling an iron rod on the deck, which was cased with copper in such a manner as to render it water-proof: instead of the bottom being pitched outside, it was covered with a composition, an invention of the noble earl's, which, as soon as spread on quite hot, became so hard that a chisel could not cut it, and it had the quality of resisting any force by its being elastic, so as

to answer the purpose of copper covering. His lordship's country seat is covered with the same composition instead of lead. The launch, and the experiments to be tried, were expected to take place between eleven and twelve o'clock, at which hour there were between three and four hundred persons present, among whom were several ladies of distinction, and many naval officers; but being informed that she would not be ready to be launched before three o'clock, most of the company dispersed; some returned to town, others strolled through the delightful and romantic walks in the gardens; and others went to take some refreshment in the town of Kensington. At the hour of three o'clock, the crowd began to re-assemble in great numbers. About a quarter past three it was launched into the water, by means of rollers placed on deal planks. Previous to being launched, there was a temporary ladder fixed to one end, in order to ascertain which answered best, that or the gills. As soon as it was launched there was one ton and a half of ballast taken on board; his lordship and a lieutenant of the navy, and some sailors, &c., went on board; having no sails, they rowed up and down the pond, then twice round; the men at the oars kept pulling regularly; when it was found that the gills beat the rudder in velocity, and turned coastways with greater ease, having the advantage of returning back without pulling about ship. After the first trial there was another ton of ballast taken on board. After being an hour on the water the second time, during which his lordship marked down his remarks, about 5 o'clock the masts were put on board, the canvas spread, with the union jack at the mainmast head: she then sailed most majestically with a light wind, and nothing could possibly make a grander appearance. She returned with the other head foremost, without putting about. The spectators were

highly gratified at the sight, which made amends for the disappointment in the morning on account of the delay. His lordship, after trying several experiments in rounding, tacking, and keeping to a certain point, landed about six o'clock, and expressed his perfect satisfaction, and confidence in having succeeded in his design; the benefits and advantages of which are numerous, and are as follows:—that there is one-third of the expence saved in the construction of a seventy-four; that on account of being rather flat-bottomed, it will carry more tonnage; it will navigate in very shallow water, and over breakers or sunken rocks, without the risk that a ship without a keel runs; on approaching any rock or coast, it can immediately retire, without loss of time in putting about; does not require half the sails, all of which can be worked by the men on the deck, without going aloft; the composition which covers it is infinitely cheaper than copper, and answers the same purpose; it can sail nearly against the wind, by working the gills; with many other advantages with which we are as yet unacquainted. Several experienced officers expressed themselves very warmly in favour of it. The next trial will be in the presence of some of the lords of the admiralty, &c.

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On Monday, December the 14th, between break of day and sunrise, a terrestrial meteor was seen from Poughkeepsie, in the state of New York, flaming across the heavens in a direction from N. W. to S. E. Apparently it was as large as the moon at full, inconceivably light, and travelled with amazing velocity, leaving a luminous train behind. The light occasioned thereby, when it crossed the zenith, was nearly equal to mid-day. A ridge of heavy, dark clouds lay along the south and east, behind which it passed when it had arrived within about 30 degrees of the horizon, illuminating the cloud, for a moment, in all its

parts. Within about four or five minutes, a heavy explosion was heard, from the region of the heavens where it disappeared, resembling the discharge of cannon.

On the 17th of October, 1788, about six or seven o'clock in the evening, a meteor of similar description passed over this and the New England states, first appearing in the S. E., and exploding in the W., about 30 degrees above the horizon.

On Monday, December 14, about break of day or a little after, the weather being moderate, calm, and the atmosphere somewhat cloudy and foggy, a *meteor* or *fire-ball*, passing from a northern point, disintegrated over the western part of Connecticut, with a tremendous report. At the same time several pieces of stony substance fell to the earth in Fairfield county. One mass was driven against a rock and dashed into small pieces, a peck of which remained on the spot. About three miles distant, in the town of Weston, another large piece fell upon the earth, of which

a mass of about thirty pounds weight remains entire, and was exhibited the same day at town meeting. A small mass has been sent to Yale college, and examined by a number of gentlemen. It was immediately perceived by professor Silliman to contain a metal; and on presenting it to a magnet, a powerful attraction proved it to be iron.

This is, we believe, the first instance in the United States, in which the substance of this species of meteor has been found on the earth, though it has been often in Europe. Fortunately the facts respecting this wonderful phenomenon are capable of being ascertained and verified with precision, and an investigation will, we understand, be immediately commenced for the purpose.

Gentlemen who may have observed it in distant parts of the state are requested to favour the public with their observations. It is desirable to ascertain the course or direction of the meteor; the point of compass in which it appeared at different places; its general appearance and velocity; the manner of its explosion, and the time between the explosion and the report.

POETRY.

For the Literary Magazine.

STANZAS,

Written on finding a June flower blooming in November.

SAY, beauteous, simple little flower,
Why so late in Autumn bloom?
From evening's chill, unfeeling power
Thou'lt meet with an ungentle
doom.

Thy crimson'd robe of various shade
Must perish by the gelid dew;
Thy slender form, alas! will fade,
Be lost to the admiring view.

Though fair and mild the present eve,
Th' ensuing one may prove severe;
And O I feel my heart would grieve
To find thy beauties blasted here.

A happy thought! a milder fate
Awaits thee; no, thou shalt not die;
Though simply thou hast bloom'd so
late,
And dar'd to meet November's sky.

In morn, with care I'll thee remove,
Convey thee to Louisa, where
Thou all her tenderness mayst prove,
And bloom beneath her fostering
care.

Should she caress thee, and a tear
Glide down her cheek and gild thy
crest,
'Twill prove how long remembrance
dear
Is cherish'd in her faithful breast.

For once a flower resembling thee
She kiss'd and to her heart con-
vey'd,

'Twas Henry's parting gift to me:
True emblem of his mind, she said.

"It droops, but O it shall not die,
My heart shall warm, my tears be-
dew;

It bloom'd beneath too cold a sky,
Like him immur'd in shade it
grew.

"These drooping petals shall revive,
His pensive heart a change shall
prove,

The happy moment will arrive,
When he will live to peace and
love.

"Though wand'ring victim now of
woe,

By parent's cruel, stern command;
His truth, his worth, ere long they'll
know,
And give him their Louisa's hand."

But O! it in her bosom died:
An emblem of the youth too true;
No more he for Louisa sigh'd,
For o'er his grave the green sod
grew.

Then go, be all thy tints display'd;
Yet stay, while I the truth impart:
Thou too wilt droop, thou too wilt
fade,
Sweet, gentle flower, if near her
heart.

Oh yes too sure 'twill thee consume,
It will too warm a region prove,
And be as fatal to thy bloom,
As the bleak wind that bares the
grove.

SABINA.

Written on the ensuing morning.

Behold, alas, my sad delay!
And is this, say, my promis'd
care?

Yet who'd have thought an eve like
May
Had in its train so keen an air?

This cherub flower that charm'd the
view,
Attir'd with graces all its own,
Has perish'd by the gelid dew,
Its every charm, alas, has flown!

Ah, simple flower, to bloom so late,
Why didst thou, say, in smiles con-
fide?

Such prov'd the dear Maria's fate,
Like thee she droop'd, like thee she
died!

Like thee, sweet flower, she fell a
prey

To one who wore a mask of smiles,
Fair as the eve of yesterday,
Adorn'd with all November's wiles.

He saw, admir'd—ah, who could
view

Her beauteous form and not adore?
A lily of the vale she grew,
And all its modest graces wore.

Love revell'd in Orlando's eyes,
And round Maria wrapt his snare;
Her gentle heart became his prize,
A gem it was, a jewel rare.

And, artless, little did she deem
The heart would change she
thought her own,
But soon she prov'd it all a dream,
Orlando, hope, and peace had
flown.

His sordid sire, who, wrapt in gold,
Forbade the banns, and he comply'd;
He saw Maria pale and cold,
And sought the rich and chosen
bride.

She knew him false, nor did she stay,
T' upbraid him with a cheek of
snow;

But chose, alas! a surer way
To wound, if he could feel the
blow!

"Is this his truth, his love?" she said:

"Is this the way he lives for me?"
Then droop'd like thee, by smiles be-
tray'd,

And died as pure, sweet flower, as
thee.

And may the feeling heart beware,
And learn from both your hapless
fates,
Beneath the smile there lurks a
snare,
Which the unwary mind awaits.

SABINA.

November 5, 1807.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE WIDOW.

By Mrs. Opie.

HENCE! cruel life! nor more per-
sist

To warm this sad, this broken
heart!

When Henry's clay-cold lips I kiss'd,
How welcome, Death! had been
thy dart!

Speechless, they say, benumb'd I
seem'd,

While his last precious breath I
caught;

No tears to sooth my sorrow stream'd,
And agony suspended thought.

They tell me thunders rent the air,
That vivid lightnings flash'd around;
But I beheld no lightning's glare,
Nor heard the pealing thunder
sound.

They tell me that my helpless child
I from my arms with fury toss'd;
It might be so—for I was wild—
The mother in the wife was lost.

They tell me, on th' unconscious
corse,

At length, bereft of sense, I fell:
Ah! blessed state! of balm the
source.

It clos'd my ears to Henry's knell.

But, happy state, resembling death!

Why is your balmy stupor flown?
Ah! why restore a wretch's breath?
For I can only live to moan.

E'en Reason says I justly weep,
And ah! she says I weep in vain:
My midnight couch with tears I steep,
Then rise at morn—to weep again.

When to my heart my child I fold,
She only deepens every sigh:
I think, while I her charms behold,
How she'd have pleas'd her fa-
ther's eye.

And while I from her lisping tongue
Soft childhood's artless accents
hear,

I think, with vain remembrance
wrung,

How she'd have charm'd her fa-
ther's ear.

I think—but O forbear, fond heart!

From vain regrets to duties turn;

Yes—I will act a parent's part—

I'll tear myself from Henry's urn.

In life I still one charm can see;

One flower adorns that dreary
wild;

That flower for care depends on me—

O, precious charge! 'Tis HEN-
RY'S CHILD."

For the Literary Magazine.

ON SEEING A LARGE OAK TREE
LED FROM THE WOOD.

ALAS! is this thy fate, once stately
tree?

Why felon-like with chains thus
fetter'd o'er?

Thou seem'st to groan, and move
reluctantly,

As if thou would'st thy past estate
deplore.

For once in youth thy head thou smil-
ing rear'd,

And drank the fresh'ning breeze
that round thee play'd;

And striking deep thy fibres, nothing
fear'd,

Whilst foliage bright thy spreading
arms array'd.

And when its height thy manly vi-
gour gain'd,

And wintry storms around destruc-
tion cast,

Like some proud tower, thy place
thou still maintain'd,

Scorning to skulk beneath the north-
ern blast.

In vain above the rest, with stately
mien,
Like Leb'non's trees, thy head ma-
jestic rose,
Or royal call'd, since Boscobel's did
screen
A royal fugitive when press'd by
foes.

No more the feather'd choir, with ca-
rols sweet,
Shall perch in groups thy rustling
leaves among;
They now in distant lands each other
greet,
Or mourn thy fate in many a plain-
tive song.

For in one hapless moment, sad to tell,
The woodman's axe assail'd thy
honours tall;
Beneath his strokes thou bow'd thine
head, and fell,
And made the ground to tremble
with thy fall.

Then from thy sides thy sturdy arms
were rent,
And from thy native soil thou'rt
dragg'd away;
For purposes of trade to cities sent,
Till time, ere long, shall turn thee
to decay.

Such is thy course; and, oh! an em-
blem just
Of man, whose period's shorter
many a day;
He at death's stroke must bow, then
turn to dust,
And all his honours flee like thine
away.

Yes, tho' in spring he shows his
blushing face,
And hastes to catch each fav'ring
breeze e'er past;
Tho' he in summer glows with manly
grace,
And bids defiance to the wint'ry
blast;

The highest heights of honour,
wealth, or fame,
Will not from death their proud
possessor save;
Their dust shall blend with that of
humbler name,
And high and low shall moulder in
the grave.

VOL. VIII. NO. LI.

But lo! a striking difference here we
find:

Although the body to corruption
tends,
The soul shall still exist in bliss refin'd,
Or woe unspeakable, that never
ends.

How loudly, man! this calls thee to
beware
Of negligence in one so vast con-
cern;
Lest thou should'st lose thy soul for
want of care,
And when too late thy sad mistake
discern.

O then make haste, nor lose the pre-
cious hour;
The present *now* is all that is thine
own;
Seek thy soul's good, thy future bliss
secure,
Thro' grace implor'd which shall
thy efforts crown.

Salvation's glorious plan—what mer-
cy 'tis!
Is now made known; accept it, and
obtain,
Thro' Christ, a title to 'celestial bliss,
And death to thee shall be eternal
gain.

ALBERT.

For the Literary Magazine.

TO MY GRANDMOTHER ON HER
BIRTH DAY.

SHOULD not my muse some tribute
pay,
Should not your grandson something
say,
To celebrate your natal day,
My granny?

How oft not hungry I've been fed!
Who then would give me husks of
bread,
With butter or with honey spread?
My granny.

How oft she bought me many a toy,
Which I in glee would soon destroy!
Who call'd me her dear darling boy?
My granny.

Who took my hated book away,
Who from my school would let me stay,
And bid me run about and play?

My granny.

Who let me tease poor Ann and Mary,
Who never chid me when contrary,
Who gave me cream when in the
dairy?

My granny.

Indulgent to my whimsies still,
Who ne'er was angry, well or ill,
Who always let me have my will?

My granny.

Then, dearest granny, never fear,
But that my love will be sincere;
This goodly name long may you bear,

My granny.

M. H. S.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

MARRIED.

At PHILADELPHIA, on Tuesday evening, November 24, by the Rev. Gideon Ferrall, John R. Evans, Esq., of Cecil county, Maryland, to Miss Mary Watson, of Newcastle county, Delaware state.

On Thursday evening, November 26, by the Rev. Philip F. Mayer, Mr. Peter Lamerzelle, to Miss Mary Mager.

Same evening, by the same, Mr. George Myers, to Miss Elizabeth Schultz.

On Sunday evening, November 29, by Robert Wharton, Esq., captain James W. Murdoch, to Miss Maria N. Kelly, daughter of captain John Kelly, all of Philadelphia.

On Thursday evening, December 3, by John Baker, Esq., Mr. Isaac Lippincott, merchant, to Miss Sarah Widdefield, both of Philadelphia.

Same evening, by the Rev. Philip F. Mayer, Mr. Joseph S. Colladay, to Miss Sarah Woodward.

On Sunday evening, December 6, by the same, Mr. Abraham Joseph, to Miss Catharine Calder.

On Monday evening, December 7, by the Rev. Mr. Alexander, Mr. John Hamilton, merchant, to Miss Eliza Newell, all of Philadelphia.

On Tuesday evening, December 8, by the Rev. Mr. Mayer, Mr. Jonathan Worth, merchant of Philadelphia, to Miss Susan Rodman, of Burlington.

On Wednesday, December 9, by John H. Worrell, Esq., Mr. Jeremiah Anderson, merchant, of Philadelphia, to Miss Abigail Cooper, of Frankfort.

On Thursday evening, December 10, by the Rev. Dr. Pilmore, Mr. Ja-

cob Rheem, to Miss Ann Hamilton, daughter of Mr. John Hamilton, all of Philadelphia.

Same evening, by the right Rev. bishop White, Mr. Condy Ragnet, merchant, to Miss Catharine S. Simmons, daughter of Mr. James Simmons, all of Philadelphia.

On the 13th of December, by Dr. Smith, Mr. Allen Armstrong, merchant, to Miss M. Fisher, both of Philadelphia.

On the evening of Friday, December 25, by Abraham Shoemaker, Esq., Owen Churchman, of Philadelphia, to Mary Penneld, of Ashton, Delaware county.

On Saturday evening, December 26, by the Rev. Mr. Mayer, Mr. James Worth, of Philadelphia, merchant, to Miss Eliza Knight, daughter of Isaac Knight, Esq., of Montgomery county.

On Thursday evening, December 31, by the Rev. Dr. Rogers, Mr. Joseph Worrilow to Miss Margaret Wilkinson, both of Springfield, Delaware county.

At Germantown, on Friday, December 4, Mr. Jacob Nathans, to Miss Margaret Lucretia Ozeas, both of Philadelphia.

At Friends' meeting-house, Bristol, December 16, Peter Thompson, of Philadelphia, to Elizabeth W. Underhill, daughter of Phineas Buckley, of Bristol.

At Trenton, N. J. on Thursday evening, December 10, by James Ewing, Esq., Mr. Joseph Pleasants, merchant, of Philadelphia, to Miss Mary Trimble, of Morrisville, Pennsylvania.

At New York, on Thursday eve-

ning, December 3, by the Rev. Mr. Wilkins, Mr. William B. Ludlow, to Miss Julia Sarah Morris, eldest daughter of Robert Morris, Esq., all of New York.

DIED,

At PHILADELPHIA, on Wednesday, November 23, Mr. Robert Bridges, aged 32 years, eldest son of the late Mr. Robert Bridges, of Philadelphia.

On Thursday, November 24, in the seventy-third year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth Drinker, the wife of Henry Drinker, Esq.

On Sunday evening, November 29, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, Mrs. Mary Redman, wife of Dr. John Redman, of Philadelphia.

On Tuesday night, December 1, after a long and severe indisposition, which she bore with fortitude and resignation to the Divine will, Mrs. Mary M'Annelley, in the fiftieth year of her age.

On Thursday morning, December 3, in the nineteenth year of his age, Mr. William Buckley Wells, eldest son of Mr. Richard Wells, merchant of Philadelphia.

On Monday, December 7, Mr. Frederic Fraley, jun., in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

On Sunday evening, December 13, after a few hours' illness, at an advanced age, Mrs. Sarah Houston, mother of James Houston, Esq., cashier of the office of discount and deposit in the borough of Lancaster.

On Tuesday, December 15, in the Pennsylvania Hospital, Peter Young, of a palsy. He was admitted above four years ago, and has never been able to stand or speak a word since that time. Independent of the palsy, he appeared to be a strong and healthy man, till within a few months of his death, when he declined in his health, but retained to the last a tranquil and cheerful disposition, far beyond what could be expected for a person in his helpless situation.

On Saturday, December 19, in the twenty-third year of her age, Sarah Longstreth, after a lingering and consumptive illness, which she bore with christian patience and fortitude.

At his seat, Tacconey, near Frankford, December 9, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, Samuel Howell, Esq.,

for many years a merchant of great respectability in Philadelphia.

At York, Pennsylvania, after a lingering illness, in the fifty-third year of his age, the Rev. Mr. Jacob Goering, for many years pastor of the German Lutheran church in that place, and late president of the synod of that church, in the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

At Rahway, on Monday, November 23, Mr. Ashier Coddington, and on Wednesday his wife, both of the typhus fever, and both in the prime of life.

In Mansfield township, Burlington county, N. J., James Graff, sen., on the 20th of November, aged ninety-five years and three months.

At Pittsburgh, on the 24th November, after a severe illness of six weeks, Alexander Addison, Esq., in the forty-ninth year of his age.

In this great and good man, pre-eminent powers of mind were happily united with the most precious attainments of science; the variety and extent of his talents and learning are displayed in his numerous writings, which, for cogency of reasoning, perspicuity of method, classical purity of style, felicity of illustration, and uniform tendency to promote the interests of virtue, may be fairly set in competition with any that have been published in our country.

As an advocate he was profoundly skilled in the law, persuasive, liberal, independant, and universally revered for his spotless integrity.

In the character of judge, which he sustained for twelve years, he was a luminous and able expositor of the law; prompt, impartial, and decisive in his opinions; in the dispatch of business, never surpassed, and from none of his judgments was there ever an appeal.

These splendid accomplishments of the mind were accompanied by a heart without guile and without disguise; disinterested, constant, ardent in its friendships, and generous to the full measure of its means; beneficent to the unfortunate, charitable to the poor, and ever ready without reward to defend the oppressed.

A tender husband, a most affectionate indulgent father, he has left a widow and eight children to mourn the untimely death of their beloved

guardian, whose whole soul was devoted to the advancement of their honour and happiness.

At Windsor, Connecticut, on Thursday, November 26, at 12 o'clock, Oliver Ellsworth, aged 62 years.

Lately, at New Orleans, deeply and universally lamented, Mrs. Frances Prevost, daughter of the Rev. Dr. S. S. Smith, of Princeton, and consort of the hon. J. B. Prevost, late recorder of New York.

Same place, on the 16th of November, Mrs. Gertrude Relf, wife of Richard Relf, Esq., merchant, of that city.

In the island of Jamaica, October 27, Mr. Joseph Israel, son of William H. Israel, Esq., of Philadelphia.

At Brick-hill, Bucks, England, October 22, on his way from Liverpool, Mr. Robert Murray, of the house of Murray and Wheaton, of the city of New York.

WEEKLY REGISTER OF MORTALITY IN THE CITIES OF PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, AND BALTIMORE.

Health-office, Dec. 5, 1807.

Interments, in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, in the week ending the 5th of December.

Diseases.	Ad.	Childr.
Consumption of the lungs,	6	1
Convulsions,	1	1
Decay,	1	0
Diarrhœa, chronic,	1	0
Dropsy,	2	0
Drowned,	1	0
Fever, intermittent,	1	0
—, typhus,	4	0
Hives,	0	1
Insanity,	1	0
Old age,	2	0
Pleurisy, bilious,	1	0
Sore throat,	0	1
Sudden,	1	0
Worms,	0	3
Unknown,	0	1
Total,	22	8—30

Of the above there were:

Under 2 years	6
From 2 to 5	1
5 10	0

15	20	2
20	30	2
30	40	2
40	50	3
50	60	4
60	70	1
70	80	2
80	90	2
Ages unknown,		5
Total,		30

Dec. 12.

Diseases.	Ad.	Childr.
Apoplexy,	1	0
Cholera morbus,	0	1
Cholic,	1	0
Consumption of the lungs,	5	0
Convulsions,	0	2
Decay,	1	0
Debility,	0	1
Diarrhœa, chronic,	1	0
Dropsy,	1	0
Dropsy in the brain,	0	3
Dysentery,	2	1
Fever,	1	0
—, remittent or bilious,	1	0
—, nervous,	1	0
Hives,	0	1
Inflam. of the stomach,	1	0
Old age,	1	0
Pleurisy,	1	1
Still-born,	0	3
Syphilis,	1	0
Unknown,	1	0
Total,	20	13—33

Of the above there were:

Under 2 years 10

From 2 to 5 none

5 10 1

10 20 1

20 30 3

30 40 4

40 50 7

50 60 2

60 70 1

70 80 2

80 90 none

Ages unknown 2

Total, 33

Dec. 19.

Diseases.	Ad.	Childr.
Abscess of the lungs,	0	1
Consumption of the lungs,	1	0
Convulsions,	0	2
Decay,	0	1
Diarrhœa,	1	1
Dropsy,	1	0
Dropsy of the brain,	0	1
Dysentery,	0	1
Fever, intermittent,	2	0

Inflammation of the liver,	1	0
Insanity,	1	0
Palsy,	2	0
Still-born,	0	1
Unknown,	0	1
Total,	9	9—18

Of the above there were :

Under 2 years	9
From 2 to 5	0
5 10	0
10 20	1
20 30	1
30 40	1
40 50	1
50 60	4
60 70	0
70 80	0
80 90	1
Ages unknown,	0
Total,	—18

Ages unknown,

Total,

Dec. 26.

Diseases.	Ad.	Childr.
Apoplexy,	1	0
Casualties,	0	1
Consumption of the lungs,	3	0
Convulsions,	1	2
Debility,	0	1
Diarrhœa,	1	0
Fever, typhus,	0	1
Inflammation of the lungs,	1	1
bowels,	1	0
Murdered,	1	0
Palsy,	1	0
Pleurisy,	1	0
Still-born,	0	1
Unknown,	1	0
Total,	12	7—19

Of the above there were :

Under 2 years	7
From 2 to 5	0
5 10	1
10 20	0
20 30	1
30 40	4
40 50	3
50 60	3
60 70	0
Total	—19

Report of deaths, in the city of New York, from the 21st to the 28th of November, 1807.

Adults 19—Children 14—Total 33.

Diseases.	
Consumption,	8
Convulsions,	2

Debility,	1
Decay,	1
Dropsy,	3
Drowned,	1
Typhus fever,	2
Hives,	1
Jaundice,	1
Insanity,	1
Inflammation of the lungs,	1
Pleurisy,	1
Small-pox,	2
Sore throat,	1
Still-born,	2
Sudden death,	1
Suicide,	1
Hooping-cough,	1
Worms,	2

The case of drowning was that of a black man from the country, supposed to be between 30 and 40 years of age, who was found in the river near Charlotte-slip.

From the 28th of November to the 5th of December.

Adults 16—Children 6—Total 22.

Diseases.	
Consumption,	8
Convulsions,	3
Debility,	2
Decay,	1
Scarlet fever,	1
Hives,	1
Inflammation of the brain,	1
Liver disease,	1
Old age,	1
Palsy,	1
Sore throat,	1
Sudden death,	1

From the 5th to the 12th of December.

Adults 24—Children 17—Total 41.

Apoplexy,	2
Casualties*,	2
Consumption,	10
Convulsions,	2
Debility,	1
Decay,	3
Dropsy,	3
Typhus fever,	1
Hives,	3
Inflammation of the lungs,	1
Inflammation of the bowels,	1
Inflammation of the brain,	1
Liver disease,	2
Mortification,	1

* Two children, one aged six and the other eleven years, whose deaths were occasioned by their clothes having accidentally caught fire.

Old age,	1
Small-pox,	1
Sprue,	1
Sudden death,	1
Syphilis,	2
Hooping-cough,	1
Worms,	1
<i>From the 12th to the 19th of December.</i>	

Adults 21—Children 21—Total 42.

Bleeding at the lungs,	1
Consumption,	8
Convulsions,	9
Debility,	1
Decay,	3
Dropsy,	1
Typhus fever,	3
Hives,	4
Insanity,	1
Inflammation of the stomach,	1
Measles,	1
Pleurisy,	2
Small-pox,	1
Still-born,	2
Suicide, by shooting,	1
Stone,	1
Ulcer,	2

From the 19th to the 26th of December.

Adults 20—Children 16—Total 36.

Diseases.

Apoplexy,	1
Bleeding of the lungs,	1
Consumption,	10
Convulsions,	3
Dropsy in the head,	3
Dysentery,	2
Infantile flux,	1
Hives,	1
Jaundice,	1
Intemperance,	2
Inflammation of the lungs,	1
Inflammation of the brain,	1
Mennorrhagia,	1
Rheumatism,	1
Small-pox,	1
Sudden death,	1
Teething,	1
Hooping-cough,	1
Worms,	3

*Interments, in the burying grounds
of the city and precincts of Bal-
timore, during the week ending
November 30, at sunrise.*

Diseases.

Consumption,	5
Still-born,	8
Dropsy,	1

Locked-jaw,	1
Old age,	1
Pleurisy,	1
Adults 12—Children 5—Total 17.	
<i>Diseases.</i>	

Dec. 7.	
Infantile,	3
Sudden,	1
Consumption,	6
Unknown,	3
Pleurisy,	1
Mortification,	1
Adults 10—Children 5—Total 15.	

Dec. 14.

Diseases.

Pleurisy,	2
Unknown,	3
Dropsy,	1
Infantile,	4
Mortification,	1
Consumption,	2
Croup,	1
Bilious fever,	1
Jaundice,	1
Sudden,	1
Fits,	1

Adults 11—Children 7—Total 18.

Diseases.

Dec. 21.

Pleurisy,	1
Dropsy,	1
Worms,	2
Sudden,	2
Infantile,	3
Intemperance,	1
Lingering,	1
From the country,	1
Consumption,	1

Adults 7—Children 6—Total 13.

Diseases.

Dec. 28.

Consumption,	5
Pleurisy,	2
Accidental,	1
Still-born,	3
Infantile,	3

Adults 8—Children 6—Total 14.

THE AMERICAN REGISTER.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

ON Tuesday, December 3, 1805, at 12 o'clock, the President of the United States communicated, by Mr. Coles, his secretary, the following message to both houses of congress.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.

AT a moment when the nations of Europe are in commotion, and arming against each other, when those with whom we have principal intercourse are engaged in the general contest, and when the countenance of some of them towards our peaceful country threatens that even that may not be unaffected by what is passing on the general theatre, a meeting of the representatives of the nation in both houses of congress has become more than usually desirable. Coming from every section of our country, they bring with them the sentiments and the information of the whole, and will be enabled to give a direction to the public affairs which the will and the wisdom of the whole will approve and support.

In taking a view of the state of our country, we, in the first place, notice the great affliction of two of our cities under the fatal fever which, in latter times, has occasionally visited our shores. Providence in his goodness gave it an early termination on this occasion, and lessened the number of victims which have usually fallen before it. In the course of the several visitations of this disease, it has appeared that it is strictly local, incident to cities, and on the tide water only; incommunicable in the country, either by persons under the disease, or by goods carried from diseased places; that its access is with the autumn, and it disappears with the early frosts. These restrictions, within narrow limits of time and space, give security even to our maritime cities, during three-fourths of the year, and in the country always. Although from these facts it appears unnecessary, yet, to satisfy the fears of foreign nations, and cautions on their part not to be complained of in a danger whose limits are yet unknown to them, I have strictly enjoined on the officers at the head of the customs to certify with exact truth, for every vessel sailing for a foreign port, the state of health respecting this fever which prevails at the place from which she sails. Under every motive from character and duty to certify the truth, I have no doubt they have faithfully executed this injunction. Much real injury has, however, been sustained from a propensity to identify with this endemic, and to call by the same name, fevers of very different kinds, which have been known at all times, and in all countries, and never have been placed among those deemed contagious. As we advance in our knowledge of this disease, as facts develop the source from which individuals receive it, the state authorities charged with the care of the public health,

and congress with that of the general commerce, will become able to regulate with effect their respective functions in these departments. The burthen of quarantines is felt at home as well as abroad; their efficacy merits examination. Although the health laws of the states should be found to need no present revisal by congress, yet commerce claims that their attention be ever awake to them.

Since our last meeting, the aspect of our foreign relations has considerably changed. Our coasts have been infested, and our harbours watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others with those of legal form, but committing piratical acts beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured, in the very entrance of our harbours, as well as upon the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication; but not daring to approach a court of justice, they have plundered and sunk them by the way, in obscure places, where no evidences could arise against them, maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in boats in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering. These enormities appearing to be unreachd by any controul of their sovereigns, I found it necessary to equip a force, to cruize within our own seas, to arrest all vessels of these descriptions found hovering on our coasts, within the limits of the gulf-stream, and to bring the offenders in for trial as pirates.

The same system of hovering on our coasts and harbours, under colour of seeking enemies, has been also carried on by public armed ships, to the great annoyance and oppression of our commerce. New principles too have been interpolated into the law of nations, founded neither in justice nor the usage or acknowledgment of nations. According to these a belligerent takes to itself a commerce with its own enemy, which it denies to a neutral, on the ground of its aiding that enemy in the war. But reason revolts at such inconsistency, and the neutral having equal right with the belligerent to decide the question, the interests of our constituents, and the duty of maintaining the authority of reason, the only umpire between just nations, impose on us the obligation of providing an effectual and determined opposition to a doctrine so injurious to the rights of peaceable nations. Indeed the confidence we ought to have in the justice of others still countenances the hope that a sounder view of those rights will itself induce from every belligerent a more correct observance of them.

With Spain our negotiations for a settlement of differences have not had a satisfactory issue. Spoliations during the former war, for which she had formerly acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated but on conditions affecting other claims in no wise connected with them. Yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount.

On the Mobile, commerce passing through that river continues to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. Propositions for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana have not been acceded to. While, however, the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things by taking new posts, or strengthening ourselves in the disputed territories, in the hope that the other power would not, by a contrary conduct, oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may not be easily controuled. But in this hope we have now reason to lessen our confidence. Inroads have been recently made into the territories of Orleans and the Mississippi, our citizens have been seized and their property plundered, in the very parts of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have therefore found it necessary at length to give orders to our troops on that frontier to

be in readiness to protect our citizens, and to repel by arms any similar aggressions in future. Other details, necessary for your full information of the state of things between this country and that, shall be the subject of another communication. In reviewing these injuries from some of the belligerent powers, the moderation, the firmness, and the wisdom of the legislature will all be called into action. We ought still to hope that time and a more correct estimate of interest as well as of character, will produce the justice we are bound to expect. But should any nation deceive itself by false calculations, and disappoint that expectation, we must join in the unprofitable contest, of trying which party can do the other the most harm. Some of these injuries may perhaps admit a peaceable remedy. Where that is competent it is always the most desirable. But some of them are of a nature to be met by force only, and all of them may lead to it. I cannot therefore but recommend such preparations as circumstances call for. The first object is to place our sea-port towns out of the danger of insult. Measures have been already taken for furnishing them with heavy cannon for the service of such land batteries as may make a part of their defence against armed vessels approaching them. In aid of these it is desirable we should have a competent number of gun-boats, and the number to be competent must be considerable. If immediately begun, they may be in readiness for service at the opening of the next season.

Whether it will be necessary to augment our land forces, will be decided by occurrences probably in the course of your session. In the mean time, you will consider whether it would not be expedient, for a state of peace as well as of war, so to organize or class the militia, as would enable us, on any sudden emergency, to call for the services of the younger portions, unincumbered with the old and those having families. Upwards of 300,000 able-bodied men, between the ages of 18 and 26 years, which the last census shows we may now count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offence or defence, in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces, after the necessity of them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service, cannot but be desirable to our younger citizens of the present as well as future times, inasmuch as it engages to them, in more advanced age, a quiet and undisturbed repose in the bosom of their families. I cannot then but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system, as, by a separation of the more active part from that which is less so, we may draw from it, when necessary, an efficient corps, fit for real and active service, and to be called to it in regular rotation.

Considerable provision has been made, under former authorities from congress, of materials for the construction of ships of war of 74 guns. These materials are on hand, subject to the further will of the legislature.

An immediate prohibition of the exportation of arms and ammunition is also submitted to determination.

Turning from these unpleasant views of violence, I congratulate you on the liberation of our fellow citizens who were stranded on the coast of Tripoli, and made prisoners of war. In a government bottomed on the will of all, the life and liberty of every individual citizen becomes interesting to all. In the treaty therefore which has concluded our warfare with that state, an article for the ransom of our citizens has been agreed to. An operation by land, by a small band of our countrymen, and others engaged for the occasion, in conjunction with the troops of the ex-bashaw of that country, gallantly conducted by our late consul Eaton, and their successful enterprise on the city of Derne, contributed doubtless to the impression which produced peace, and the conclusion of this prevented op-

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portunities of which the officers and men of our squadron destined for Tripoli would have availed themselves, to emulate the acts of valour exhibited by their brethren in the attack of the last year. Reflecting with high satisfaction on the distinguished bravery displayed whenever occasions permitted in the Mediterranean service, I think it would be a useful encouragement, as well as a just reward to make an opening for some present promotion by enlarging our peace establishment of captains and lieutenants.

With Tunis some misunderstandings have arisen not yet sufficiently explained, but friendly discussions with their ambassador recently arrived, and a mutual disposition to do whatever is just and reasonable, cannot fail of dissipating these : so that we may consider our peace on that coast, generally, to be on as sound a footing as it has been at any preceding time. Still it will not be expedient to withdraw immediately the whole of our force from that sea.

The law providing for a naval peace establishment fixes the number of frigates which shall be kept in constant service in time of peace ; and prescribes that they shall be manned by not more than two-thirds of their complement of seamen and ordinary seamen. Whether a frigate may be trusted to two-thirds only of her proper complement of men must depend on the nature of the service on which she is ordered. That may sometimes for her safety, as well as to ensure her object, require her fullest complement. In adverting to this subject, congress will perhaps consider whether the best limitation on the executive discretion in this case would not be by the number of seamen which may be employed in the whole service, rather than by the number of vessels. Occasions oftener arise for the employment of small, than of large vessels ; and it would lessen risk as well as expence, to be authorised to employ them of preference. The limitation suggested by the number of seamen would admit a selection of vessels best adapted to the service.

Our Indian neighbours are advancing, many of them with spirit, and others beginning to engage, in the pursuits of agriculture and household manufacture. They are becoming sensible that the earth yields subsistence with less labour than the forest, and find it their interest from time to time to dispose of parts of their surplus and waste lands for the means of improving those they occupy, and of subsisting their families while they are preparing their farms. Since your last session, the northern tribes have sold to us the lands between the Connecticut reserve and the former Indian boundary, and those on the Ohio, from the same boundary to the rapids, and for a considerable depth inland. The Chickasaws and Cherokees have sold us the country between and adjacent to the two districts of Tennessee, and the Creeks the residue of their lands in the fork of Ocmulgee up to the Ulcofauhatche. The three former purchases are important, inasmuch as they consolidate disjointed parts of our settled country, and render their intercourse secure ; and the second particularly so as, with the small point on the river which we expect is by this time ceded by the Piankeshaws, it completes our possession of the whole of both banks of the Ohio, from its source to near its mouth, and the navigation of that river is thereby rendered for ever secure to our citizens settled and settling on its extensive waters. The purchase from the Creeks too has been for some time particularly interesting to the state of Georgia.

The several treaties which have been mentioned will be submitted to both houses of congress for the exercise of their respective functions.

Deputations now on their way to the seat of government, from various nations of Indians, inhabiting the Missouri and other parts beyond the Mississippi, come charged with assurances of their satisfaction with the new relations in which they are placed with us, of their disposition to cul-

tivate our peace and friendship, and their desire to enter into commercial intercourse with us. A state of our progress in exploring the principal rivers of that country and of the information respecting them hitherto obtained, will be communicated so soon as we shall receive some further relations which we have reason shortly to expect.

The receipts at the treasury during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have exceeded the sum of thirteen millions of dollars, which, with not quite five millions in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting other demands, to pay nearly two millions of the debt contracted under the British treaty and convention, upwards of four millions of principal of the public debt, and four millions of interest. These payments, with those which had been made in three years and a half preceding, have extinguished of the funded debt nearly eighteen millions of principal.

Congress, by their act of November 10th, 1803, authorised us to borrow 175,000 dollars towards meeting the claims of our citizens assumed by the convention with France. We have not, however, made use of this authority, because the sum of four millions and a half, which remained in the treasury on the same 30th day of September last, with the receipts which we may calculate on for the ensuing year, besides the annual sum of eight millions of dollars, appropriated to the funded debt, and meeting all the current demands which may be expected, will enable us to pay the whole sum of three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars assumed by the French convention, and still leave us a surplus of a million of dollars at our free disposal. Should you concur in the provisions of arms and armed vessels recommended by the circumstances of the times, this surplus will furnish the means of doing so.

On this first occasion of addressing congress since, by the choice of my constituents, I have entered on a second term of administration, I embrace the opportunity to give this public assurance that I will exert my best endeavours to administer faithfully the executive department, and will zealously co-operate with you in any measure which may tend to secure the liberty, property, and personal safety of our fellow-citizens, and to consolidate the republican forms and principles of our government.

In the course of your session you shall receive all the aid which I can give for the dispatch of the public business, and all the information necessary for your deliberation, of which the interests of our own country, and the confidence reposed in us by others, will admit a communication.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Respecting the violation of neutral rights, the depredations on the colonial trade, and impressments of American seamen.

*To the Senate and House of
Representatives of the United States.*

In my message to both houses of congress, at the opening of their present session, I submitted to their attention, among other subjects, the oppression of our commerce and navigation by the irregular practices of armed vessels, public and private, and by the introduction of new principles, derogatory of the rights of neutrals, and unacknowledged by the usage of nations.

The memorials of several bodies of merchants of the United States are now communicated, and will develop these principles and practices

which are producing the most ruinous effects on our lawful commerce and navigation.

The right of a neutral to carry on commercial intercourse with every part of the dominions of a belligerent, permitted by the laws of the country (with the exception of blockaded ports, and contraband of war), was believed to have been decided between Great Britain and the United States, by the sentence of their commissioners, mutually appointed to decide on that and other questions of difference between the two nations; and by the actual payment of the damages awarded by them against Great Britain, for the fractions of that right. When, therefore, it was perceived that the same principle was revived, with others more novel, and extending the injury, instructions were given to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of London, and remonstrances duly made by him on the subject, as will appear by documents transmitted herewith. These were followed by a partial and temporary suspension only, without any disavowal of the principle. He has, therefore, been instructed to urge this subject anew, to bring it more fully to the bar of reason, and to insist on rights, too evident and too important to be surrendered. In the mean time, the evil is proceeding under adjudications founded on the principle which is denied. Under these circumstances the subject presents itself for the consideration of congress.

On the impressment of our seamen, our remonstrances have never been intermitted. A hope existed, at one moment, of an arrangement which might have been submitted to, but it soon passed away, and the practice, though relaxed at times in the distant seas, has been constantly pursued in those in our neighbourhood. The grounds on which the reclamations on this subject have been urged, will appear in an extract from instructions to our minister at London, now communicated.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

January 17, 1806.

DOCUMENTS.

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of State to James Munroe, Esq. dated Department of State, April 12, 1805.

The papers herewith inclosed explain particularly the case of the brig Aurora.

The sum of the case is, that, whilst Spain was at war with Great Britain, this vessel, owned by a citizen of the United States, brought a cargo of Spanish produce, purchased at the Havannah, from that place to Charleston, where the cargo was landed, except an insignificant portion of it, and the duties paid, or secured, according to law, in like manner as they are required to be paid, or secured, on a like cargo, from whatever port, meant for home consumption; that the cargo remained on land about three weeks, when it was re-shipped for Barcelona, in old Spain, and the duties drawn back, with a deduction of three and a half per cent., as is permitted to imported articles in all cases at any time within one year, under certain regulations, which were pursued in this case; that the vessel was taken on her voyage by a British cruiser, and sent for trial to Newfoundland, where the cargo was condemned by the court of vice-admiralty; and that the cause was carried thence, by appeal, to Great Britain, where it was apprehended that the sentence below would not be reversed.

The ground of this sentence was, and that of its confirmation, if such be the result, must be, that the trade in which the vessel was engaged was unlawful, and this unlawfulness must rest, first, on the general principle assumed by Great Britain, that a trade from a colony to its parent country, being a trade not permitted to other nations in time of peace, cannot be made lawful to them in time of war; secondly, on the allegation that the continuity of the voyage from the Havannah to Barcelona was not broken by landing the cargo in the United States, paying the duties thereon, and thus fulfilling the legal pre-requisites to a home consumption; and, therefore, that the cargo was subject to condemnation even under the British regulation of January, 1798, which so far relaxes the general principle as to allow a direct trade between a belligerent colony and a neutral country carrying on such a trade.

With respect to the general principle, which disallows to neutral nations, in time of war, a trade not allowed to them in time of peace, it may be observed,

First, That the principle is of modern date; that it is maintained, as is believed, by no other nation but Great Britain; and that it was assumed by her under the auspices of a maritime ascendancy, which rendered such a principle subservient to her particular interest. The history of her regulations on this subject shows that they have been constantly modified under the influence of that consideration. The course of these modifications will be seen in an appendix to the fourth volume of Robinson's Admiralty Reports.

Secondly, That the principle is manifestly contrary to the general interest of commercial nations, as well as to the law of nations settled by the most approved authorities, which recognises no restraints on the trade of nations not at war, with nations at war, other than that it shall be impartial between the latter, that it shall not extend to certain military articles, nor to the transportation of persons in military service, nor to places actually blockaded or besieged.

Thirdly, That the principle is the more contrary to reason and to right, inasmuch as the admission of neutrals into a colonial trade shut against them in times of peace, may, and often does, result from considerations which open to neutrals direct channels of trade with the parent state, shut to them in times of peace, the legality of which latter relaxation is not known to have been contested; and inasmuch as a commerce may be, and frequently is open in time of war, between a colony and other countries, from considerations which are not incident to the war, and which would produce the same effect in a time of peace; such, for example, as a failure or diminution of the ordinary sources of necessary supplies, or new turns in the course of profitable interchanges.

Fourthly, That it is not only contrary to the principles and practice of other nations, but to the practice of Great Britain herself. It is well known to be her invariable practice in time of war, by relaxations in her navigation laws, to admit neutrals to trade in channels forbidden to them in times of peace; and particularly to open her colonial trade both to neutral vessels and supplies, to which it is shut in times of peace; and that one at least of her objects, in these relaxations, is to give to her trade an immunity from capture, to which in her own hands it would be subjected by the war.

Fifthly, The practice which has prevailed in the British dominions, sanctioned by orders of council and an act of parliament [39 G. 3. c. 98.], authorising for British subjects a direct trade with the enemy, still further diminishes the force of her pretensions for depriving us of the colonial trade. Thus we see in Robinson's Admiralty Reports passim, that during the last war, a licensed commercial intercourse prevailed between Great

Britain and her enemies, France, Spain, and Holland, because it comprehended articles necessary for her manufactures and agriculture ; notwithstanding the effect it had in opening a vent to the surplus productions of the others. In this manner she assumes to suspend the war itself as to particular objects of trade beneficial to herself ; whilst she denies the right of the other belligerents to suspend their accustomed commercial restrictions in favor of neutrals. But the injustice and inconsistency of her attempt to press a strict rule on neutrals is more forcibly displayed by the nature of the trade which is openly carried on between the colonies of Great Britain and Spain in the West Indies. The mode of it is detailed in the enclosed copy of a letter from , wherein it will be seen that American vessels and cargoes, after being condemned in British courts under pretence of illicit commerce, are sent on British account, to the enemies of Great Britain, if not to the very port of the destination interrupted when they were American property. What respect can be claimed from others to a doctrine not only of so recent an origin, and enforced with so little uniformity, but which is so conspicuously disregarded in practice by the nation itself, which stands alone in contending for it ?

Sixthly, It is particularly worthy of attention, that the board of commissioners, jointly constituted by the British and American governments under the seventh article of the treaty of 1794, by reversing condemnations of the British courts founded on the British instructions of November, 1793, condemned the principle, that a trade forbidden to neutrals in time of peace could not be opened to them in time of war ; on which precise principles these instructions were founded. And as the reversal could be justified by no other authority than the law of nations, by which they were guided, the law of nations, according to that joint tribunal, condemns the principle here combated. Whether the British commissioners concurred in these reversals does not appear : but whether they did or did not, the decision was equally binding ; and affords a precedent which could not be disrespected by a like succeeding tribunal, and ought not to be without great weight with both nations, in like questions recurring between them.

On these grounds, the United States may justly regard the British captures and condemnations of neutral trade with colonies of the enemies of Great Britain as violations of right ; and if reason, consistency, or that sound policy which cannot be at variance with either, be allowed the weight which they ought to have, the British government will feel sufficient motives to repair the wrongs done in such cases by its cruisers and courts.

But, apart from this general view of the subject, a refusal to indemnify the sufferers, in the particular case of the *Aurora*, is destitute of every pretext ; because, in the second place, the continuity of her voyage was clearly and palpably broken, and the trade converted into a new character.

It has been already noted, that the British regulation of 1798 admits a direct trade in time of war between a belligerent colony and a neutral country carrying on the trade ; and admits consequently the legality of the importation by the *Aurora* from the Havannah to Charleston. Nor has it ever been pretended that a neutral nation has not a right to re-export to any belligerent country whatever foreign productions, not contraband of war, which may have been duly incorporated and naturalized, as part of the commercial stock of the country re-exporting it.

The question then to be decided under the British regulation itself is, whether in landing the cargo, paying the duties, and thus as effectually qualifying the articles for the legal consumption of the country, as if they had been its native productions, they were not at the same time equally

qualified with native productions for exportation to a foreign market. That such ought to be the decision results irresistibly from the following considerations.

1. From the respect which is due to the internal regulations of every country, where they cannot be charged with a temporizing partiality towards particular belligerent parties, or with fraudulent views towards all of them. The regulations of the United States on this subject must be free from every possible imputation; being not only fair in their appearance, but just in their principles, and having continued the same during the periods of war, as they were in those of peace. It may be added that they probably correspond, in every essential feature relating to re-exportations, with the laws of other commercial countries, and particularly with those of Great Britain. The annexed outline of them, by the secretary of the treasury, will at once explain their character, and show that, in the case of the *Aurora*, every legal requisite was duly complied with.

2. From the impossibility of substituting any other admissible criterion, than that of landing the articles, and otherwise qualifying them for the use of the country. If this regular and customary proceeding be not a barrier against further enquiries, where, it may be asked, are the enquiries to stop? By what evidence are particular articles to be identified on the high seas, or before a foreign tribunal? If identified, how is it to be ascertained whether they were imported with a view to the market at home, or to a foreign market, or, as ought always to be presumed, to the one or the other as it should happen to invite? Or if to a foreign market, whether to one forbidden or permitted by the British regulations? For it is to be recollected that among the modifications which her policy has given to the general principle asserted by her, a direct trade is permitted to a neutral carrier from a belligerent colony, to her ports, as well as to those of his own country. If, again, the landing of the goods, and the payment of the duties be not sufficient to break the continuity of the voyage, what, it may be asked, is the degree of internal change or alienation which will have that effect? May not a claim be set up to trace the articles from hand to hand, from ship to ship, in the same port, and even from one port to another port, as long as they remain in the country? In a word, in departing from the simple criterion provided by the country itself, for its own legitimate and permanent objects, it is obvious that besides the defalcations which might be committed on our carrying trade, pretexts will be given to cruisers for endless vexations on our commerce at large, and that a latitude and delays will accrue in the distant proceedings of admiralty courts, still more ruinous and intolerable.

3. From the decision in the British high court of admiralty itself, given in the case of the *Polly*, Lasky master, by a judge deservedly celebrated for a profound judgment, which cannot be suspected of leaning towards doctrines unjust or injurious to the rights of his own country. On that occasion he expressly declares: "It is not my business to say what is universally the test of a bona fide importation; it is argued that it would be sufficient that the duties should be paid, and that the cargo should be landed. If these criteria are not to be resorted to, I should be at a loss to know what should be the test; and I am strongly disposed to hold, that it would be sufficient, that the goods should be landed and the duties paid." 2 Rob. Rep. p. 368—9.

The president has thought it proper that you should be furnished with such a view of the subject as is here sketched; that you make the use of it best suited to the occasion. If the trial of the *Aurora* should not be over, it is questionable whether the government will interfere with its courts. Should the trial be over, and the sentence of the vice-admiralty court at St. Johns have been confirmed, you are to lose no time in present-

ing to the British government a representation corresponding with the scope of these observations ; and in urging that redress in the case, which is equally due to private justice, to the reasonable expectations of the United States, and to that confidence and harmony, which ought to be cherished between the two nations.

COMMERCIAL STATEMENTS.

A STATEMENT, exhibiting the value (agreeably to prime cost) in sterling, of goods paying duties ad valorem, imported from the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, from her dominions in the East Indies, also from all other parts of Europe, and from China, for the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, ending the 30th September, in each year.

From the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, for 1802.

On goods paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	3,907,582
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	1,315,946
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	40,650
Pounds sterling,	5,264,178

From the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, for 1803.

On goods paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	4,091,692
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	1,254,852
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	39,273
Pounds sterling,	5,385,817

From the dominions of Great Britain, for 1804.

On goods paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	4,088,450
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	1,211,060
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	49,923
Pounds sterling,	5,349,433

From all other parts of Europe, for the year 1802.

On goods paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	1,506,183
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	343,364
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	65,976
Pounds sterling,	1,715,523

From all other parts of Europe, for the year 1803.

On goods paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	678,513
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	259,922
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	40,980
Pounds sterling,	979,415

From all other parts of Europe, for 1804.

On goods paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	1,106,564
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	318,575
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	34,676
Pounds sterling,	1,459,815

From the British dominions in the East Indies, for 1802.

On goods paying duties at 12½ per cent.	594,506
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	1,453
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	- - -
Pounds sterling,	<u>595,959</u>

From the British dominions in the East Indies, for 1803.

On goods paying duties at 12½ per cent.	467,718
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	5,162
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	- - -
Pounds sterling,	<u>472,880</u>

From the British dominions in the East Indies, for 1804.

On goods paying duties at 12½ per cent.	733,497
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	9,735
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	- - -
Pounds sterling,	<u>743,232</u>

From China, for the year 1802.

On goods paying duties at 12½ per cent.	456,185
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	37,328
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	4
Pounds sterling,	<u>493,517</u>

From China, for the year 1803.

On goods paying duties at 12½ per cent.	398,169
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	58,691
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	358
Pounds sterling,	<u>457,218</u>

From China, for the year 1804.

On goods paying duties at 12½ per cent.	408,218
On goods paying duties at 15 per cent.	34,036
On goods paying duties at 20 per cent.	65
Pounds sterling,	<u>442,319</u>

A STATEMENT, exhibiting the quantity of salt, rum, and nails imported from the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, the West Indies, and other British dependencies, for the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, ending 30th September.

From the dominions of Great Britain in Europe.

	Bus. Salt.	Galls. Rum.	lbs. Nails.
1802,	1,262,039	5,846	3,051,782
1803,	1,431,274	45,459	3,841,185
1804,	1,260,122	17,778	3,924,803
	<hr/> 3,953,435	<hr/> 69,083	<hr/> 10,817,770

From the British West Indies.

	Bus. Salt.	Galls. Rum.	lbs. Nails.
1802,	801,802	4,213,087	65,811
1803,	758,421	3,628,264	4,426
1804,	803,668	4,368,316	10,692
	<hr/> 2,363,891	<hr/> 12,209,667	<hr/> 80,929

From other British dependencies.

	Bus. Salt.	Galls. Rum.	lbs. Nails.
1802,	4,608	11,872	
1803,	12,688	7,883	7,469
1804,	30,050	14,940	6,598
	<hr/> 47,346	<hr/> 34,695	<hr/> 14,067

The preceding statements are copied from official documents, submitted to congress from the treasury department, and while they show what a valuable customer we are to Great Britain, they prove also, what a large portion of the revenue is derived from our commercial intercourse with her. We shall offer the following view.

Amount of Goods from Great Britain and her dominions, Europe and the East Indies.

1802, paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	4,562,088
1803, paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	4,459,410
1804, paying duties at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	4,821,947

Pounds sterling,

13,783,445

1802, paying duties at 15 per cent.	1,317,395
1803, paying duties at 15 per cent.	1,260,014
1804, paying duties at 15 per cent.	1,220,795

Pounds sterling,

3,798,204

1802, paying duties at 20 per cent.	40,654
1803, paying duties at 20 per cent.	44,435
1804, paying duties at 20 per cent.	49,988

Pounds sterling, 135,077

Amount of duties at 12½ per cent. three years	Dolls. 9,869,799
Amount of duties at 15 per cent. three years	1,908,400
Amount of duties at 20 per cent. three years	119,946

Dollars, 11,898,145

Duties on salt from Europe for three years	790,687
Duties on rum from Europe for three years	20,724
Duties on nails from Europe for three years	216,355
Duties on salt from West Indies for three years	661,889
Duties on rum from West Indies for three years	3,362,900
Duties on nails from West Indies for three years	1,618
Duties on salt from other dependencies for three years	13,256
Duties on rum from other dependencies for three years	10,408
Duties on nails from other dependencies for three years	281

5,078,118

To which add as above, 11,898,145

Dollars, 16,976,263

As the official documents to which we have referred were exhibited with a view to ascertain the amount of the goods *imported*, and not the amount of *duties*, it is presumed that the 10 per cent. additional on the amount of cost, was not included in the original. If so we are to add one-tenth to the amount of goods from the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, and the East Indies, which will be upwards of 1,700,000 pounds sterling, and on which the duties, taking a fair average, may be put down at 13½ per cent. and is about 900,000 dollars. If to 900,000 we add the duties on enumerated articles from the British dominions in Europe and the East Indies, and then those of sugar and coffee from her colonies, the amount of duties may, for the three years, be safely put down at 1,500,000 dollars; making for the three years upwards of nineteen millions of dollars of revenue.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Transmitting documents and papers relative to complaints by the government of France against the commerce carried on by American citizens to the French island of St. Domingo.

To the Senate of the United States.

IN compliance with the request of the senate, expressed in their resolution of December 27, I now lay before them such documents and papers (there being no other information in my possession) as relate to com-

plaints by the government of France, against the commerce carried on by the citizens of the United States to the French island of St. Domingo.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

January 10th, 1806.

From General Turreau, to the Secretary of State, October 14, 1805.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal majesty, to his excellency the president of the United States of America, has testified in his conversation with the secretary of state, his just discontent with the commercial relations, which many citizens of different states of the union maintain with the rebels of every colour, who have momentarily withdrawn the colony of St. Domingo from the legal authority.

The principles injuriously affected by such a commerce, or rather by such a system of robbery (brigandage) are so evident, so generally acknowledged, and adopted not only by all nations, who have a colonial system to defend, but even by those who have none; and moreover even by every wise people to whatsoever political aggregation they may belong; that the statesman, if he has not lost every idea of justice, of humanity, and of public law, can no more contest their wisdom, than their existence. And certainly the undersigned, in finding himself called by his duty, as well as by his inclination, in the bosom of a friendly people, and near the respectable chief who directs its government; certainly the undersigned ought not to have expected that his first political relations would have for their object a complaint so serious, an infraction so manifest of law the most sacred and the best observed by every nation under the dominion of civilization.

But it was not enough for some citizens of the United States to convey munitions of every kind to the rebels of St. Domingo, to that race of African slaves, the reproach, and the refuse of nature; it was moreover necessary to insure the success of this ignoble and criminal traffic by the use of force. The vessels destined to protect it are constructed, loaded, armed, in all the ports of the union, under the eyes of the American people, of its particular authority, and of the federal government itself; and this government, which has taken for the basis of its political career the most scrupulous equity, and the most impartial neutrality, does not forbid it.

Without doubt, and notwithstanding the profound consideration, with which the minister plenipotentiary of the French empire is penetrated for the government of the union, he might enlarge still farther upon the reflections suggested by such a state of things, a circumstance so important, so unexpected. But it would be equally as afflicting for him to dwell upon it, to state its consequences, as it would be for the government to hear them.

The secretary of state, who perfectly knows the justice of the principles, and the legitimacy of the rights, referred to in this note, will be of opinion, that neither are susceptible of discussion; because a principle universally assented to, a right generally established, is never discussed, or at least is discussed in vain. The only way open for the redress of these complaints, it is to put an end to the tolerance which produces them, and which daily aggravates these consequences.

Moreover this note, founded upon facts not less evident than the principles which they infract, does not permit the undersigned to doubt that the government of the United States will take the most prompt as well as

the most effectual prohibitory measures, in order to put an end to its cause; and he seizes with eagerness this occasion of renewing to the secretary of state the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

TURREAU.

Faithfully translated,

J. WAGNER,

Chief Clerk, Department of State.

General Turreau, Minister Plenipotentiary, of His Imperial and Royal Majesty, to Mr. Madison, Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, 3d JANUARY, 1806.

SIR,

FORMAL orders of my government oblige me to insist upon the contents of my official note, of the 14th of October last, relative to the commerce which some inhabitants of the United States maintain with the rebels of St. Domingo.

Not receiving any answer to that note, I had room to hope, that the government of the union would take prompt and effectual measures to put an end to the causes which produced it; but your silence towards me, especially in relation to St. Domingo, and that of your government toward congress, impose upon me the duty of recalling to your recollection the said official note, and of renewing to you my complaints upon the tolerance given to an abuse, as shocking, as contrary to the law of nations, as it is to the treaties of peace and friendship existing between France and the United States.

I will not recur, sir, to the different circumstances which have attended the commerce with the revolted part of St. Domingo; to the scandalous publicity given to its shameful success; to the rewards and encomiums prostituted upon the crews of armed vessels, whose destination is to protect the voyages, to carry munitions of every kind to the rebels, and thus to nourish rebellion and robbery.

You ought not to be surprised, sir, that I call anew the attention of the American government to this subject. His excellency Mr. Talleyrand has already testified his discontent to general Armstrong, your minister plenipotentiary at Paris; and you will be of opinion that it is at length time to pursue formal measures against every adventure to the ports of St. Domingo occupied by the rebels. The system of tolerance which produces this commerce, which suffers its being armed, which encourages by impunity its extension and its excess, cannot longer remain; and the emperor and king my master expects, from the dignity and the candour of the government of the union, that an end be put to it promptly.

I add to this dispatch a copy of the official note, which has already been transmitted to you. I earnestly request, sir, that you acknowledge the receipt of both, and receive anew assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) TURREAU.

Faithfully translated,

J. WAGNER,

Chief Clerk, Department of State.

From M. Talleyrand to General Armstrong.

[Without date, but received in general Armstrong's letter to the secretary of state, of the 10th August, 1805.]

SIR,

I HAVE several times had the honour to call your attention to the commerce carried on from the ports of the United States to those of St. Domingo occupied by the rebels. These commercial communications would appear to be almost daily increased. In order to cover their true destination, the vessels are cleared for the West Indies, without a more particular designation of the place, and, with the aid of these commissions, provisions, arms, and other objects of supply, of which they stand in need, are carried to the rebels of St. Domingo.

Although these adventures may be no more than the result of private speculations, the government of the United States is not the less engaged to put an end to them, by a consequence of the obligations which bind together all the civilized powers, all those who are in a state of peace. No government can second the spirit of revolt of the subjects of another power, and as in this state of things it cannot maintain communications with them, it ought not to favour those which its own subjects maintain.

It is impossible that the government of the United States should longer shut its eyes upon the communications of their commerce with St. Domingo. The adventures for that island are making with a scandalous publicity. They are supported by armed vessels; at their return, feasts are given, in order to vaunt the success of their speculations; and the acknowledgment, even the eulogies of the government are so much relied upon, that it is at these feasts, and in the midst of an immense concourse, where are found the first authorities of the country, that the principles of the government of Hayti are celebrated, and that vows are made for its duration.

I have the honour, sir, to transmit to your excellency an extract of an American journal, in which are contained sundry details of a feast, given in the port of New York, on board of a convoy which had arrived from St. Domingo.

The ninth toast, given to the government of Hayti, cannot fail, sir, to excite your indignation. It is not after having covered every thing with blood and with ruin, that the rebels of St. Domingo ought to have found apologists in a nation the friend of France.

But they do not stop at their first speculations. The company of merchants, which gave a feast on the return of their adventure, is preparing a second convoy, and proposes to place it under the escort of several armed vessels.

I have the honour, sir, to give you this information, in order that you may be pleased to call the most serious attention of your government towards a series of facts, which it becomes its dignity and candour no longer to permit. The federal government cannot so far separate itself from the inhabitants of the United States, as to permit to them acts and communications which it thinks itself bound to interdict to itself: or as to think that it can distinguish its own responsibility from that of its subjects, when there is in question an unparalleled revolt, whose circumstances, and whose horrible consequences must alarm all nations, and who are all equally interested in seeing it cease.

France ought to expect from the amity of the United States, and his majesty charges me, sir, to request in his name, that they interdict every private adventure, which, under any pretext or designation whatsoever, may be destined to the ports of St. Domingo, occupied by the rebels.

Receive, general, the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. M. TALLEYRAND.

*To his Excellency General Armstrong,
Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.*

Faithfully translated.

J. WAGNER,

Chief Clerk, Department of State.

From M. Talleyrand to General Armstrong.

Paris, 29th Thermidor, 13th year (16th August, 1805).

SIR,

Since the letter I had the honour to write to you on the 2d Thermidor, concerning the armaments which were making in the ports of the United States for the western part of St. Domingo, fresh information upon this point confirms every thing which had been received. The adventures for St. Domingo are publicly made; vessels are armed for war, to protect the convoys; and it is in virtue of contracts, entered into between Dessalines and American merchants, that the latter send him supplies and munitions of war.

I add, sir, to the letter, which I have the honour to write to you, a copy of a sentence given at Halifax, in the matter of a merchant of New York, who had conveyed into the revolted part of St. Domingo three cargoes of gunpowder, and who was taken on his return by an English frigate.

If, even in the English tribunal, where this prize was condemned, the whole island of St. Domingo was considered as a French colony, how can the federal government tolerate that the rebels of this colony should continue to receive from America succours against the parent country? It is impossible that that government should be ignorant of the armaments making in its ports. Too much publicity is given to them not to render it responsible; and it ought to perceive, that it is contrary to every system of peace and good friendship to suffer longer in its ports armaments evidently directed against France.

Without doubt the federal government would not wish, in order to favour certain private speculations, to give new facilities to rebellion and robbery (brigandage): the tolerance of a commerce so scandalous would be unworthy of it. Neither your government nor his majesty can be any longer indifferent to it; and as the seriousness of the facts, which occasion this complaint, obliges his majesty to consider as good prize every thing which shall enter the ports of St. Domingo occupied by the rebels, and every thing coming out, he persuades himself that the government of the United States will take, on its part, against this commerce, at once illicit and contrary to all the principles of the law of nations, all the repressive and authoratative measures proper to put an end to it. This system of impunity and tolerance can no longer continue*; and his majesty is convinced, that your government will think it due from its frankness promptly to put an end to it.

Receive, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. M. TALLEYRAND.

To his Excellency General Armstrong.

Faithfully translated.

J. WAGNER,

Chief Clerk, Department of State.

* *Ne pourroit durer d'avantage.*

REMONSTRANCE

By the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, to the British Government.

[Accompanying the President's Message of January 17th.]

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, No. 12, September 23, 1805.

MY LORD,

I FLATTERED myself, from what passed in our last interview, that I should have been honoured, before this, with an answer from your lordship to my letters, respecting the late seizure of American vessels. I understood it to be agreed, that the discussion which then took place should be considered as inofficial, as explanatory only of the ideas which we might respectively entertain on the subject, and that your lordship would afterwards give me such a reply to my letters, respecting that measure, as his majesty's government might desire to have communicated to the government of the United States. In consequence, I have since waited with anxiety such a communication, in the daily expectation of receiving it. It is far from being my desire to give your lordship any trouble in this business, which I can avoid, as the time which has since elapsed sufficiently shows. But the great importance of the subject, which has indeed become more so by the continuance of the same policy, and the frequency of seizures which are still made of American vessels, place me in a situation of peculiar responsibility. My government will expect of me correct information on this point, in all its views, and I am very desirous of complying with its just expectation. I must, therefore, again request that your lordship will be so good as to enable me to make such a representation to my government, of that measure, as his majesty's government may think proper to give.

I am sorry to add, that the longer I have reflected on the subject, the more confirmed I have been in the objections to the measure. If we examine it in reference to the law of nations, it appears to me to be repugnant to every principle of that law; if by the understanding, or as it may be more properly called the agreement of our governments, respecting the commerce in question, I consider it equally repugnant to the principles of that agreement. In both these views your lordship will permit me to make some additional remarks on the subject.

By the law of nations, as settled by the most approved writers, no other restraint is acknowledged on the trade of neutral nations, with those at war, than that it be impartial between the latter; that it shall not extend to articles which are deemed contraband of war; nor to the transportation of persons in military service; nor to places actually blockaded or besieged. Every other commerce of a neutral with a belligerent is considered a lawful commerce; and every other restraint on it to either of the belligerents by the other an unlawful restraint.

The list of contraband is well defined, as are also the circumstances which constitute a blockade. The best authorities have united in confining the first to such articles as are used in war, and are applicable to military purposes; and requiring, to constitute the latter, the disposition of such a force, consisting of stationary ships, so near the port, by the power which attacks it, as to make it dangerous for the vessel of a neutral power to enter it. The late treaty between Great Britain and Russia designates these circumstances as necessary to constitute a blockade, and it is believed it was never viewed before in a light more favourable to the invading power.

The vessels condemned were engaged in a commerce between the United States and some port in Europe, or between those states and the West

India islands, belonging to an enemy of Great Britain. In the European voyage the cargo consisted of the productions of the colonies ; in the voyage to the West Indies, it consisted of the goods of the power to which the colony belonged, and to which the ship was destined. The ship and cargo, in every case, were the property of American citizens, and the cargo had been landed and the duty on it paid in the United States. It was decided that these voyages were continuous, and the vessels and cargoes were condemned on the principle that the commerce was illegal. I beg to refer more especially in this statement to the case of the *Essex*, an appeal from the judgment of the vice admiralty court, at New Providence, which the lords commissioners of appeals in confirming that judgment, established this doctrine.

It requires but a slight view of the subject to be satisfied that these condemnations are incompatible with the law of nations, as above stated. None of the cases have involved a question of contraband, of blockade, or of any other kind that was ever contested till of late, in favour of a belligerent against a neutral power. It is not on any principle that it is applicable to any such case, that the measure can be defended. On what principle then is it supported by Great Britain ? What is the nature and extent of her doctrine ? What are the circumstances which recommend the arguments which support it ? For information on these points we cannot refer to the well-known writers on the law of nations ; no illustration can be obtained from them of a doctrine which they never heard of. We must look for it to an authority more modern ; to one which, however respectable for the learning and professional abilities of the judge who presides, is, nevertheless, one which, from many considerations, is not obligatory on other powers. In a report of the decisions of the court of admiralty of this kingdom, we find a notice of a series of orders issued by the government, of different dates and imports, which have regulated this business. The first of these bears date on the 6th of November, 1793 ; the second on the 8th of January, 1794 ; the third on the 25th January, 1798. Other orders have been issued since the commencement of the present war. It is these orders which have authorised the seizures that were made, at different times, in the course of the last war, and were lately made by British cruizers, of the vessels of the United States. They too form the law which has governed the courts in the decisions on the several cases which have arisen under those seizures. The first of these orders prohibits altogether every species of commerce between neutral countries and enemies' colonies, and between neutral and other countries, in the productions of those colonies ; the second and subsequent orders modify it in various forms. The doctrine, however, in every decision, is the same ; it is contended in each, that the character and just extent of the principle is to be found in the first order, and that every departure from it since has been a relaxation of the principle, not claimed of right by neutral powers, but conceded in their favour gratuitously by Great Britain.

In support of these orders it is urged, that as the colonial trade is a system of monopoly to the parent country in time of peace, neutral powers have no right to participate in it in time of war, although they be permitted so to do by the parent country ; that a belligerent has a right to interdict them from such a commerce. It is on this system of internal restraint, this regulation of colonial trade, by the powers having colonies, that a new principle of the law of nations is attempted to be founded : one which seeks to discriminate in respect to the commerce of neutral powers, with a belligerent, between different parts of the territory of the same power, and likewise subverts many other principles of great importance, which have heretofore been held sacred among nations. It is believed that so important a superstructure was never raised on so slight a foundation.

Permit me to ask, does it follow, because the parent country monopolises in peace the whole commerce of its colonies, that in war it should have no right to regulate it at all? That on the contrary it should be construed to transfer, in equal extent, a right to its enemy, to the prejudice of the parent country, of the colonies, and of neutral powers? If this doctrine was sound, it would certainly institute a new and singular mode of acquiring and losing rights; one which would be highly advantageous to one party, while it was equally injurious to the other. To the colonies, more especially, it would prove peculiarly onerous and oppressive. It is known that they are essentially dependent for their existence on supplies from other countries, especially the United States of America, who, being in their neighbourhood, have the means of furnishing them with greatest certainty, and on the best terms. Is it not sufficient that they be subjected to that restraint in peace, when the evils attending it, by the occasional interference of the parent country, may be, and are frequently repaired? Is it consistent with justice or humanity, that it should be converted into a principle, in favour of an enemy, inexorable of course, but otherwise without the means of listening to their complaints, not for their distress or oppression only, but for their extermination? But there are other insuperable objections to this doctrine. Are not the colonies of every country a part of its domain, and do they not continue to be so until they are severed from it by conquest? Is not the power to regulate commerce incident to the sovereignty, and is it not co-extensive over the whole territory which any government possesses? Can one belligerent acquire any right to the territory of another but by conquest? And can any rights which appertain thereto, be otherwise defeated or curtailed in war? In whatever light, therefore, the subject is viewed, it appears to me evident that this doctrine cannot be supported. No distinction, founded in reason, can be taken between the different parts of the territory of the same power to justify it. The separation of one portion from another by the sea gives lawfully to the belligerent which is superior on that element, a vast ascendancy in all the concerns on which the success of the war, or the relative prosperity of their respective dominions, may in any degree depend. It opens to such power ample means for its own aggrandisement, and for the harassment and distress of its adversary. With these it should be satisfied. But neither can that circumstance, nor can any of internal arrangement, which any power may adopt for the government of its dominions, be construed to give to its enemy any other advantage over it. They certainly do not justify the doctrine in question, which asserts, that the law of nations varies in its application to different portions of the territory of the same power; that it operates in one mode, in respect to one, and in another, or even not at all, in respect to another; that the rights of humanity, of neutral powers, and all other rights, are to sink before it.

It is further urged, that neutral powers ought not to complain of this restraint, because they stand under it on the same ground, with respect to that commerce, which they held in time of peace. But this fact, if true, gives no support to the pretension. The claim involves a question of right, not of interest. If the neutral powers have a right in war to such commerce with the colonies of the enemies of Great Britain, as the parent states respectively allowed, they ought not to be deprived of it by her, nor can its just claims be satisfied by any compromise of the kind alluded to. For this argument to have the weight which it is intended to give it, the commerce of the neutral powers with those colonies should be placed and preserved through the war, in the same state as if it had not occurred. Great Britain should in respect to them take the place of the parent country, and to every thing which the latter would have done, had there been no war. To discharge that duty, it would be necessary for her to

establish such a police over the colony, as to be able to examine the circumstances attending it annually, to ascertain whether the crops were abundant, supplies from other quarters had failed, and eventually to decide whether under such circumstances the parent country would have opened the ports to neutral powers. But these offices cannot be performed by any power which is not in possession of the colony; that can only be obtained by conquest, in which case, the victor would of course have a right to regulate its trade as it thought fit.

It is also said, that neutral powers have no right to profit of the advantages which are gained in war by the arms of Great Britain. This argument has even less weight than the others. It does not, in truth, apply at all to the question. Neutral powers do not claim a right, as already observed, to any commerce with the colonies which Great Britain may have conquered of her enemies, otherwise than on the conditions which she imposes. The point in question turns on the commerce which they are entitled to with the colonies which she has not conquered, but still remain subject to the dominion of the parent country. With such it is contended, for reasons that have been already given, that neutral powers have a right to enjoy all the advantages in trade which the parent country allows them: a right of which the mere circumstance of war cannot deprive them. If Great Britain had a right to prohibit that commerce, it existed before the war began, and of course before she had gained any advantage over her enemies. If it did not then exist, it certainly does not at the present time. Rights of the kind in question cannot depend on the fortune of war, or other contingencies. The law which regulates them is invariable, until it be changed by the competent authority. It forms a rule equally between belligerent powers, and between neutral and belligerent, which is dictated by reason, and sanctioned by the usage and consent of nations.

The foregoing considerations have, it is presumed, proved that the claim of Great Britain, to prohibit the commerce of neutral powers in the manner proposed, is repugnant to the law of nations. If, however, any doubt remained on that point, other considerations which may be urged cannot fail to remove it. The number of orders of different imports which have been issued by government, to regulate the seizure of neutral vessels, is a proof that there is no established law for the purpose. And the strictness with which the courts have followed those orders, through their various modifications, is equally a proof that there is no other authority for the government of their decisions. If the order of the 6th of November, 1793, contained the true doctrine of the law of nations, there would have been no occasion for those which followed, nor is it probable that they would have been issued: indeed if that order had been in conformity with that law, there would have been no occasion for it. As in the cases of blockade and contraband, the law would have been well known without an order, especially one so very descriptive; the interest of the cruizers, which is always sufficiently active, would have prompted them to make the seizures, and the opinions of eminent writers, which in that case would not have been wanting, would have furnished the courts the best authority for their decisions.

I shall now proceed to show that the decisions complained of are contrary to the understanding, or what, perhaps, may more properly be called an agreement of the two governments, on the subject. By the order of the 6th of November, 1793, some hundreds of American vessels were seized, carried into port, and condemned. Those seizures and condemnations became the subject of an immediate negotiation between the two nations, which terminated in a treaty, by which it was agreed to submit the whole subject to commissioners, who should be invested with full power to settle the controversy which had thus arisen. That stipulation was carried into complete effect; commissioners were appointed, who examined labo-

riously and fully all the cases of seizure and condemnation which had taken place, and finally decided on the same, in which decisions they condemned the principle of the order, and awarded compensation to those who had suffered under it. Those awards have been since fairly and honourably discharged by Great Britain. It merits particular attention that a part of the 12th article of that treaty referred expressly to the point in question, and that it was, on the solemn deliberation of each government, by their mutual consent, expunged from it. It seems therefore to be impossible to consider that transaction, under all the circumstances attending it, in any other light than as a fair and amicable adjustment of the question between the parties; one which authorised the just expectation, that it would never have become again a cause of complaint between them. The sense of both was expressed on it in a manner too marked and explicit to admit of a different conclusion. The subject too was of a nature that when once settled ought to be considered as settled for ever. It is not like questions of commerce between two powers, which affect their internal concerns, and depend, of course, on the internal regulations of each. When these latter are arranged by treaty, the rights which accrue to each party under it, in the interior of the other, cease when the treaty expires. Each has a right afterwards to decide for itself in what manner that concern shall be regulated in future, and in that decision to consult solely its interest. But the present topic is of a very different character. It involves no question of commerce or other internal concern between the two nations. It respects the commerce only which either may have with the enemies of the other, in time of war. It involves, therefore, only a question of right, under the law of nations, which in its nature cannot fluctuate. It is proper to add, that the conclusion above mentioned was further supported by the important fact, that until the late decree, in the case of the *Essex*, not one American vessel, engaged in this commerce, had been condemned on this doctrine; that several which were met in the channel, by the British cruisers, were permitted, after an examination of their papers, to pursue their voyage. This circumstance justified the opinion, that that commerce was deemed a lawful one by Great Britain.

There is another ground, on which the late seizures and condemnations are considered as highly objectionable, and to furnish just cause of complaint to the United States. Until the final report of the commissioners under the 7th article of the treaty of 1794, which was not made until last year, it is admitted that their arbitrament was not obligatory on the parties, in the sense in which it is now contended to be. Every intermediate declaration, however, by Great Britain of her sense on the subject must be considered as binding on her, as it laid the foundation of commercial enterprizes, which were thought to be secure while within that limit. Your lordship will permit me to refer you to several examples of this kind, which were equally formal and official, in which the sense of his majesty's government was declared very differently from what it has been in the late condemnations. In Robinson's Reports, vol. 2, page 368, (case, the *Polly*, Lasky, master) it seems to have been clearly established by the learned judge of the court of admiralty, that an American has a right to import the produce of an enemy's colony into the United States, and to send it on afterwards to the general commerce of Europe; and that the landing the goods, and paying the duties in the United States, should preclude all further question relative to the voyage. The terms "for his own use," which are to be found in the report, are obviously intended to assert the claim only that the property shall be American, and not that of an enemy; by admitting the right to send on the produce afterwards to the general commerce of Europe, it is not possible that those terms should convey any other idea. A *bona fide* importation is also held by the judge to be satisfied by

the landing the goods and paying the duties. This therefore is, I think, the true import of that decision. The doctrine is again laid down in still more explicit terms by the government itself, in a correspondence between lord Hawkesbury and my predecessor, Mr. King. The case was precisely similar to those which have been lately before the court. Mr. King complained, in a letter of March 18, 1801, that the cargo of an American vessel going from the United States to a Spanish colony had been condemned by the vice admiralty court of Nassau, on the ground that it was of the growth of Spain, which decision he contended was contrary to the law of nations, and requested that suitable instructions might be dispatched to the proper officers in the West Indies, to prevent like abuses in future. Lord Hawkesbury in a reply of April 11th, communicated the report of the king's advocate-general, in which it is expressly stated that the produce of an enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and re-exported thence to the mother country; and in like manner, in that circuitous mode, that the produce and manufactures of the mother country might find their way to its colonies; that the landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country broke the continuity of the voyage, and legalized the trade, although the goods were re-shipped in the same vessel, on account of the same neutral proprietors, and forwarded for sale to the mother country of the colony. It merits attention in this report (so clearly and positively is the doctrine laid down, that the landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country broke the continuity of the voyage) that it is stated as a doubtful point whether the mere touching in the neutral country to obtain fresh clearances will be considered in the light of the direct trade: that no positive inhibition is insisted on any but the direct trade between the mother country and the colonies. The doctrine, in the light herein stated, is also to be found in the treaty between Great Britain and Russia, June 17, 1801. By the 2d section of the 3d article, the commerce of neutrals in the productions or manufactures of the enemies of Great Britain, which have become the property of the neutral, is declared to be free; that section was afterwards explained by a declaratory article of October 20, of the same year, by which it is agreed that it shall not be understood to authorize neutrals to carry the produce or merchandize of an enemy, either directly from the colonies to the parent country, or from the parent country to the colonies. In other respects the commerce was left on the footing on which it was placed by that section, perfectly free, except in the direct trade between the colony and the parent country. It is worthy of remark that, as by the reference made in the explanatory article of the treaty with Russia, to the United States of America, it was supposed that those states and Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, had a common interest in neutral questions, so it was obviously intended, from the similarity of sentiment which is observable between that treaty as amended, and the report of the advocate-general above mentioned, to place all the parties on the same footing. After these acts of the British government, which being official were made public, it was not to be expected that any greater restraint would have been contemplated by it on that commerce than they impose, that an enquiry would ever have been made, not whether the property with which an American vessel was charged belonged to a citizen of the United States or an enemy, but whether it belonged to this or that American: an enquiry which imposes a condition which it is believed that no independent nation, having a just sense of what it owes to its rights or its honour, can ever comply with. Much less was it to be expected that such a restraint would have been thought of after the report of the commissioners above adverted to, which seemed to have placed the rights of the United States incontestibly on a much more liberal, and, as is contended, just footing.

It is proper to add, that the decree of the lords commissioners of appeals, in the case of the *Essex*, produced the same effect as an order from the government would have done. Prior to that decree, from the commencement of the war, the commerce in question was pursued by the citizens of the United States as has been already observed, without molestation. It is presumable that till then his majesty's cruizers were induced to forbear a seizure, by the same considerations which induced the American citizens to engage in the commerce, a belief that it was a lawful one. The facts above mentioned were equally before the parties, and it is not surprising that they should have drawn the same conclusion from them. That decree, however, opened a new scene. It certainly gave a signal to the cruizers to commence the seizures which they have not failed to do, as has been sufficiently felt by the citizens of the United States who have suffered under it. According to the information which has been given me, about fifty vessels have been brought into the ports of Great Britain in consequence of it, and there is reason to believe that the same system is pursued in the West Indies and elsewhere. The measure is the more to be complained of, because Great Britain had, in permitting the commerce for two years, given a sanction to it by her conduct, and nothing had occurred to create a suspicion that her sentiments varied from her conduct. Had that been the case, or had she been disposed to change her conduct in that respect towards the United States, it might reasonably have been expected that some intimation would have been given of it before the measure was carried into effect. Between powers who are equally desirous of preserving the relations of friendship with each other, notice might in all such cases be expected. But in the present case the obligation to give it seemed to be peculiarly strong. The existence of a negociation which had been sought on the part of the United States some considerable time before my departure for Spain, for the express purpose of adjusting amicably and fairly all such questions between the two nations, and postponed on that occasion to accommodate the views of his majesty's government, furnished a suitable opportunity for such an intimation, while it could not otherwise than increase the claim to it.

In this communication I have made no comment on the difference which is observable in the import of the several orders which have regulated, at different times, the seizure of neutral vessels, some of which were more moderate than others. It is proper, however, to remark here, that those which were issued, or even that any had been issued since the commencement of the present war, were circumstances not known till very lately: on principle it is acknowledged, that they are to be viewed in the same light, and it has been my object to examine them by that standard, without going into detail, or marking the shades of difference between them. I have made the examination with that freedom and candour which belong to a subject of very high importance to the United States, the result of which has been, as I presume, to prove that all the orders are repugnant to the law of nations, and that the late condemnations which have revived the pretensions on the part of Great Britain are not only repugnant to that law, but to the understanding which it was supposed had taken place between the two powers, respecting the commerce in question.

I cannot conclude this note without adverting to the other topics depending between our governments, which it is also much wished to adjust at this time. These are well known to your lordship, and it is therefore unnecessary to add any thing of them at present. With a view to perpetuate the friendship of the two nations, no unnecessary cause of collision should be left open. Those adverted to, are believed to be of this kind, such as the case of boundary, the impressment of seamen, &c., since it is presumed there can be no real conflicting interest between them, on those

points. The general commercial relation may then be adjusted or postponed as may be most consistent with the views of his majesty's government. On that point also it is believed that it will not be difficult to make such an arrangement as, by giving sufficient scope to the resources, to the industry, and the enterprize of the people of both countries, may prove highly and reciprocally advantageous to them. In the topic of impressment, however, the motive is more urgent. In that line the rights of the United States have been so long trampled under foot, and the feelings of humanity, in respect to the sufferer, and the honour of their government, even in their own ports, so often outraged, that the astonished world may begin to doubt, whether the patience with which these injuries have been borne ought to be attributed to generous or unworthy motives; whether the United States merit the rank to which in other respects they are justly entitled among independent powers, or have already, in the very form of their political career, lost their energy and become degenerate. The United States are not insensible that their conduct has exposed them to such suspicions, though they well know they have not merited them. They are aware, from the similarity in the person, the manners, and above all, the identity of the language which is common to the people of both nations, that the subject is a difficult one: they are equally aware, that to Great Britain also, it is a delicate one, and that they have been willing in seeking an arrangement of this important interest, to give a proof by the mode of their very sincere desire to cherish the relations of friendship with her. I have only to add, that I shall be happy to meet your lordship on these points, as soon as you can make it convenient to you.

I have the honour to be,

With high consideration,

Your lordship's most obedient servant.

(Signed)

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Respecting the application of Hamet Caramalli, ex-bashaw of Tripoli.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

I LAY before congress the application of Hamet Caramalli, elder brother of the reigning bashaw of Tripoli, soliciting from the United States attention to his services and sufferings in the late war against that state; and in order to possess them of the ground on which that application stands, the facts shall be stated according to the views and information of the executive.

During the war with Tripoli, it was suggested that Hamet Caramalli, elder brother of the reigning bashaw, and driven by him from his throne, meditated the recovery of his inheritance, and that a concert in action with us was desirable to him. We considered that concerted operations by those who have a common enemy were entirely justifiable, and might produce effects favourable to both, without binding either to guaranty the objects of the other. But the distance of the scene, the difficulties of communication, and the uncertainty of our information, inducing the less confidence in the measure, it was committed to our agents as one which might be resorted to it if promised to promote our success.

Mr. Eaton, however, our late consul, on his return from the Mediterranean, possessing personal knowledge of the scene, and having confidence in the effect of a joint operation, we authorized commodore Barron, then

proceeding with his squadron, to enter into an understanding with Hamet, if he should deem it useful ; and as it was represented that he would need some aids of arms and ammunition, and even of money, he was authorised to furnish them to a moderate extent, according to the prospect of utility to be expected from it. In order to avail him of the advantages of Mr. Eaton's knowledge of circumstances, an occasional employment was provided for the latter as an agent for the navy in that sea. Our expectation was, that an intercourse should be kept up between the ex-bashaw and the commodore ; that, while the former moved on by land, our squadron should proceed with equal pace, so as to arrive at their destination together, and to attack the common enemy by land and sea at the same time. The instructions of June 6th to commodore Barron show that a co-operation only was intended, and by no means a union of our object with the fortune of the ex-bashaw ; and the commodore's letters of March 22 and May 19 prove that he had the most correct idea of our intentions. His verbal instructions, indeed, to Mr. Eaton and captain Hull, if the expressions are accurately committed to writing by those gentlemen, do not limit the extent of his co-operation as rigorously as he probably intended ; but it is certain, from the ex-bashaw's letter of January 3, written when he was proceeding to join Mr. Eaton, and in which he says, " your operations should be carried on by sea, mine by land," that he left the position in which he was with a proper idea of the nature of the co-operation. If Mr. Eaton's subsequent convention should appear to bring forward other objects, his letter of April 29 and May 1 views this convention but as provisional, the second article, as he expressly states, guarding it against any ill effect, and his letter of June 30 confirms this construction. In the event it was found that, after placing the ex-bashaw in possession of Derne, one of the most important cities and provinces of the country where he had resided himself as governor, he was totally unable to command any resources, or to bear any part in co-operation with us. This hope was then at an end ; and we certainly had never contemplated, nor were we prepared to land an army of our own, or to raise, pay, or subsist an army of Arabs, to march from Derne to Tripoli, and to carry on a land war at such a distance from our resources. Our means and our authority were merely naval ; and that such were the expectations of Hamet, his letter of June 29 is an unequivocal acknowledgment. While, therefore, an impression from the capture of Derne might still operate at Tripoli, and an attack on that place from our squadron was daily expected, colonel Lear thought it the best moment to listen to the overtures of peace then made by the bashaw. He did so ; and, while urging provisions for the United States, he paid attention also to the interests of Hamet, but was able to effect nothing more than to engage the restitution of his family, and even the persevering in his demand suspended for some time the conclusion of the treaty.

In operations at such a distance it becomes necessary to leave much to the discretion of the agents employed ; but events may still turn up beyond the limits of that discretion. Unable in such a case to consult his government, a zealous citizen will act as he believes that would direct him were it apprized of the circumstances, and will take on himself the responsibility. In all these cases the purity and patriotism of the motives should shield the agent from blame, and even secure a sanction where the error is not too injurious. Should it be thought by any that the verbal instructions said to have been given by commodore Barron to Mr. Eaton amount to a stipulation that the United States should place Hamet Caramalli on the throne of Tripoli ; a stipulation so entirely unauthorized, so far beyond our views, and so onerous, could not be sanctioned by our government ; or should Hamet Caramalli, contrary to the evidence of his letters of January

3 and June 29, be thought to have left the position which he now seems to regret, under a mistaken expectation that we were at all events to place him on his throne, on an appeal to the liberality of the nation something equivalent to the replacing him in his former situation might be worthy its consideration.

A nation, by establishing a character of liberality and magnanimity, gains, in the friendship and respect of others, more than the worth of mere money. This appeal is now made by Hamet Caramalli to the United States. The ground he has taken being different, not only from our views, but from those expressed by himself on former occasions, Mr. Eaton was desired to state whether any verbal communications passed from him to Hamet which had varied what we saw in writing. His answer of December 5th is herewith transmitted, and has rendered it still more necessary, that, in presenting to the legislature the application of Hamet, I should present them, at the same time, an exact statement of the views and proceedings of the executive through this whole business, that they may clearly understand the grounds on which we are placed. It is accompanied by all the papers which bear any relation to the principles of the co-operation, and which can inform their judgment in deciding on the application of Hamet Caramalli.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

January 13, 1806.

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of State to Mr. Cathcart, dated 22d August, 1803.

According to information given by Mr. Eaton, he has prevailed on the brother of the bashaw of Tripoli to repair to Malta, with a view to be with our squadron before Tripoli, and to be made use of against the bashaw. At this distance it is difficult to judge accurately of the project, or to give particular instructions for the management of it. Although it does not accord with the general sentiments or views of the United States to intermeddle with the domestic controversies of other countries, it cannot be unfair in the prosecution of a just war, or the accomplishment of a reasonable peace, to take advantage of the hostile co-operation of others. As far, therefore, as the views of the brother may contribute to our success, the aid of them may be used for the purpose. Should this aid be found inapplicable, or his own personal object unattainable, it will be due to the honour of the United States, and to the expectations he will have naturally formed, to treat his disappointment with much tenderness, and to restore him, as nearly as may be, to the situation from which he was drawn, or to make some other convenient arrangement, that may be more eligible to him. In case of a treaty of peace with the ruling bashaw of Tripoli, perhaps it may be possible to make some stipulation, formal or informal, in favour of the brother, which may be a desirable alleviation of his misfortune.

To all who shall see these presents,

GREETING,

Know ye, that, reposing special trust and confidence in the zeal, fidelity, and abilities of William Eaton, I do hereby appoint him agent of the navy

department of the United States of America, for the several Barbary regencies.

(L. S.) In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed the seal of the navy department of the United States of America, at the city of Washington, this 26th day of May, 1804.

(Signed)

R. SMITH,
Secretary of the Navy.

Registered,
Ch. W. Goldsborough,
Chief Clerk Navy Department.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to William Eaton, Esq., dated May 30th, 1804.

SIR,

Herewith you will receive an appointment as navy agent for the several Barbary regencies.

You will receive instructions from, and obey the orders of commodore Barron; and will render to our squadron in the Mediterranean every assistance in your power.

As a compensation for your services, you will be allowed at the rate of twelve hundred dollars per annum, and the rations of a lieutenant in the navy of the United States.

I am, respectfully, &c.
(Signed)

R. SMITH,

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to Commodore Samuel Barron, dated June 6th, 1804.

With respect to the ex-bashaw of Tripoli, we have no objection to your availing yourself of his co-operation with you against Tripoli, if you shall, upon a full view of the subject, after your arrival upon the station, consider his co-operation expedient. The subject is committed entirely to your discretion. In such an event you will, it is believed, find Mr. Eaton extremely useful to you.

Col. Tobias Lear, our consul-general at Algiers, is invested by the president with full power and authority to negotiate a treaty of peace with the bashaw of Tripoli, and also to adjust such terms of conciliation as may be found necessary with any of the other Barbary powers. He is, therefore, to be conveyed by you to any of these regencies, as he may request of you, and you will cordially co-operate with him in all such measures as may be deemed the best calculated to effectuate a termination of the war with Tripoli, and to insure a continuance of the friendship and respect of the other Barbary powers.

Commodore Barron to Captain Hull,

September 30th, 1804.

SIR,

The state and condition of the *Argus*, under your command, requiring that she should go into port, for the purpose of refitting, &c., I request you to proceed with all practicable expedition to Malta, or Syracuse, and there refit your vessel, which being completed, you will take on board two

months provisions and water, and proceed for the port of Alexandria, and if at that port or Smyrna you find any American vessels, you will give them convoy as far as Malta, and immediately after join the squadron off this place.

You will take under your care the ship St. Michael, intercepted by the squadron, in the attempt to enter the blockaded port of Tripoli. You will find commodore Preble at Malta or Syracuse, with two other ships, captured in making the same attempt. You will receive his orders with respect to the disposition of the St. Michael, cause all her papers to be delivered to him, and furnish him with all the information you may be able to gain from her crew, &c. on your passage. You will inform the commanders of vessels you may find at Syracuse, that I shall be off Tripoli.

Verbal orders of Commodore Barron to Captain Hull, of the United States brig Argus, in presence of the undersigned, on board the President.

September 15th, 1804.

SIR,

The written orders I here hand you, to proceed to the port of Alexandria or Smyrna for convoying to Malta any vessels you may find there, are intended to disguise the real object of your expedition, which is to proceed with Eaton to Alexandria, in search of Hamet Bashaw, the rival brother and legitimate sovereign of the reigning bashaw of Tripoli; and to convey him and his suite to Derne, or such other place on the coast as may be determined the most proper for co-operating, with the naval force under my command, against the common enemy; or, if more agreeable to him, to bring him to me before Tripoli.

Should Hamet Bashaw not be found at Alexandria, you have the discretion to proceed to any other place for him, where the safety of your ship can be, in your opinion, relied upon.

The bashaw may be assured of the support of my squadron at Bengazi or Derne, where you are at liberty to put in, if required, and if it can be done without too great risk. And you may assure him also, that I will take the most effectual measures with the forces under my command, for co-operating with him against the usurper, his brother, and for re-establishing him in the regency of Tripoli. Arrangements to this effect are confided to the discretion with which Mr. Eaton is vested by the government.

Attest,

ISAAC HULL,
WILLIAM EATON.

EXTRACTS.

Mr. Eaton to Captain Hull.

Grand Cairo, January 8, 3 P. M.

Scarcely had my letter of this morning gone off by your courier express, when a letter from Hamet Bashaw came to hand, of which the following is a copy by translation.

Thanks be to him to whom gratitude is due. To our friend and the very good friend of our highness, the American agent, Mr. Eaton.

We have received your letter, and after having understood the contents, we gave thanks to God, for having preserved your health. Know that I

am ever the same as you knew me at Tunis; my friendship is constant and uniform; but you have been tardy. We must, however, make this delay subserve a good purpose.

From the date of the present I shall leave this for Behera, and shall there take quarters at the house of the Arab chief, Abdelgiver el be Kourchi, where I propose to you to meet me. I have written to my subjects and to my minister Mahmoud Kogea, and also the governor of police, Muhammed, son of Abdulrahmen, that they may treat with you; and whatever you conclude with them will be ratified by me. Your operations should be carried on by sea; mine by land; and may God assist us to re-establish peace and harmony. The 28 Namadan, 1219.

(Signed)

HAMET BASHAW,

Son of Ali Bashaw Caramalli.

The date of the bashaw's letter corresponds with the 3d instant. The place of meeting about eight hours' march from Alexandria, so that he will probably arrive thither before we can with you.

COPY.

Captain Bainbridge to George Davis, Esq., at Tunis.

Tripoli, January 27th, 1805.

SIR,

I have been anxiously expecting to hear from you, and to receive some information on the determination of our government. Not one word on that subject have I yet heard. I am anxiously expecting letters from commodore Barron. I believe the bashaw is very desirous of peace, and has great apprehensions of the intended attack, and, was a negotiation to be attempted, I think it very probable that it would succeed, for the apprehension of the attack might have as great an effect as the attack itself; and should the attack prove unsuccessful, he will no doubt continue in demanding a considerable sum. As I am quite ignorant of the force that will be brought against this place, I cannot give any opinion of the probable effect it may have. We offer our most fervent prayers that the greatest success may attend it. I cannot say what the bashaw's demand will be, but I believe he would take, at this moment, much less than what he demanded of commodore Preble last August. Our funds are all exhausted, and bills on Tunis are at a great exchange against the drawer. Pray, have you heard of Eaton? In your next, which I anxiously expect soon, I shall receive a great deal of news, I hope. I assure you, was it not for our friend Mr. Nissen, we should suffer considerably for necessaries in our close confinement; but he is a friend in need, of course, a friend indeed.

P. S. By the Danish consul. "The bashaw is now very attentive upon your transactions with his brother in Alexandria. A camp is going against Derne. Give me leave to tell you that I found your plan with the bashaw's brother very vast, and that you sacrifice your prisoners' lives here in case of success."

EXTRACTS.

William Eaton, Esq. to the Secretary of the Navy.

Alexandria, 13th February, 1805.

The letters which have passed between captain Hull and myself, copies of which are herewith annexed to a duplicate of that I had the honour to address you on the 13th December, convey a detail of our transactions since that date. The apprehensions then entertained of impediments on the part of the mameluke beys were just. The bashaw separated himself from them with his suite immediately on receiving my first letter from Cairo, and repaired to Fiaum, a neutral province; but the evening of his departure, thirty Arab chiefs were put in chains by the mameluke bey, Osman Bey, Berdici, to prevent their following him with their tribes. Of four copies of the viceroy's letter of amnesty, which I dispatched by different conveyances, not one reached him. Three mattees, in disguise of Arabs, charged with one of them, entered the mameluke camp, were arrested, the packet taken from them, and they sentenced to death. They intoxicated the sentinel, who was a European renegado, and escaped to Fiaum, by whom the bashaw obtained the first information of that act of grace, and it was not until he joined me at Demanhour that he first saw the letter. This has delayed our measures, and given us embarrassments. My three enterprising mattees are with me, but we have no returns from any of the other three couriers.

The bashaw had already determined to take the desert of Lybia to Derne, giving for his reason, which I think a sound one, that by taking shipping and separating himself from the Arabs, they would lose all patience, if not confidence also, and abandon his cause. He has consequently moved round the lake, and will to-morrow take his station at Araba Ton, thirty miles westward of the old port of Alexandria, where I am to join him with a detachment from the city, next Sunday, and proceed with him to Bomba, at the head of 500 men, and there take post. Meantime captain Hull repairs to the rendezvous for suitable reinforcements and supplies to secure an establishment at Derne and Bengazi. Those provinces in our possession will cut off from the enemy and turn into our own channel a source of provisions, and will open a free intercourse with the interior of the country. I have requested of the commodore, for this purpose, a hundred stand of arms with cartridges, and two brass field pieces with trains and ammunition, and also a detachment of a hundred marines, if necessary to lead a *coup de main*.

I calculate the whole expenditure of cash in this expedition, including expences in Egypt, will amount to twenty thousand dollars. Further disbursements and supplies will be necessary to carry this plan into final effect. But, to indemnify the United States, I have entered into convention with Hamet Bashaw, to pledge the tribute of Sweden, Denmark, and the Batavian republic; which convention I shall reduce to writing, and forward by captain Hull, if time permit; otherwise by the earliest occasion.

Day before yesterday an envoy arrived in a ketch from Jussuff Bashaw of Tripoli, to the governor and admiral of this place, for the express purpose of prevailing on them to stop Hamet Bashaw from going out of the country. Intelligence of our having left Syracuse for this place, with a view of taking him away, was conveyed to the enemy by a resident at Malta, known by the name of Solquet H. Conte Gallini. I do not know his real name. The agent made great promises, in the name of his master, to these Turkish commanders; but perceiving they seemed not to have full faith in his assurances, he resorted to the sensibility of their compas-

sion ; said if Hamet Bashaw was permitted to return, Jussuff must fly the kingdom, or lose his head. The subjects of Tripoli were getting weary of the war with these new infidels ; they could not learn from their movements their intentions, and were attacked unaware. The bashaw believed he could resist them upon his batteries ; but if they made a descent with his brother, his people would all leave him. This statement comes from the private secretary of the governor, who is secured in our interest, who heard the cause of Jussuff Bashaw argued before the governor and admiral. I don't learn what effect it has taken, but if the client has not the means of touching a more sensible nerve than a Turk's pity, his case is forlorn. At any rate, we are securing against his influence by the secure position we have taken. Except, therefore, some unforeseen accident thwart us, my next will be dated at Bengazi. The Arabs and Moors are universally with us, and, if we had the means of subsistence, we might march twenty or thirty thousand from the borders of Egypt, who from time to time have taken refuge here, since the usurpation of Jussuff Bashaw.

EXTRACTS.

Mr. Eaton to Commodore Barron.

Alexandria, February 14th, 1805.

I calculate to leave this on Sunday, and in two days after to proceed on our march with Hamet Bashaw to Bomba, by the desert, where it is hoped we shall meet reinforcements and supplies sufficient to secure positions at Derne and Bengazi. This, we are of opinion, will require two additional small vessels, and a bomb-ketch. A gun-boat also would be useful, if the navigation at this season should not be thought too hazardous. Two brass field pieces (four pounders) with their trains and ammunition, and a hundred stand of arms, with their cartridges, will be requisite ; and, to place the success of the expedition beyond the caprice of accident, a hundred marines, with bayonets, should be at hand, to lead a *coup de main*, in case of necessity. By the time we shall have arrived at Bomba, I shall have disbursed about ten thousand dollars, which we have taken up on credit of Messrs. Briggs and Brothers, four thousand dollars of which sum captain Hull has drawn bills on Malta and London ; the balance we have promised shall be sent up in one of the small vessels. Ten thousand dollars more, at least, will be necessary to accomplish our views on Derne and Bengazi. The bashaw assures me he will be able immediately to refund these sums when established in those provinces. And, to indemnify the United States for all expences arising out of a co-operation with him, he pledges the tribute of Denmark, Sweden, and the Batavian republic, in case of recovering his throne, which may be calculated upon as a certain event, if measures to that effect are supported by suitable energy and address. He engages also to release to you, without ransom, captain Bainbridge, his officers, and all American prisoners who may be in captivity at Tripoli ; to stipulate with the United States a permanent peace, without tribute, and on the footing of the most favoured nation. He engages, that, in case of future war, captives shall be treated as *prisoners*, not as *slaves*, and subject to reciprocal exchange. He will surrender the enemy and his family, and chief admiral into our hands, in case he does not escape by flight, to be held as hostages. And he agrees to deliver up to you, if required, all vessels of war, which shall have been employed against the United States by Jussuff Bashaw.

In consideration of the friendly offices of his majesty the king of the two Sicilies towards the United States, Hamet Bashaw invites his majesty to

renew with him their ancient friendship, and proffers to him a peace on the same footing as that to be stipulated in his convention with the United States. If time and circumstances admit, we shall reduce this convention to writing, and forward copies by captain Hull; otherwise it will be done at Bomba. At the invitation of the bashaw and divan, and in conformity to the sentiments expressed to me by the secretary of the navy, I have taken on myself the command in chief of the bashaw's army, and the direction of all operations by land, and I cannot but flatter myself we may realize success of our expectations on this coalition; and that you will have the glory of carrying the usurper a prisoner in your squadron to the United States, and of relieving our fellow citizens from the chains of slavery, without the degrading condition of a ransom.

Convention between the United States of America and his Highness Hamet Caramanly, Bashaw of Tripoli.

GOD IS INFINITE.

Article I. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace, and free intercourse between the government of the United States of America and his highness Hamet Caramanly Bashaw, the legitimate sovereign of the kingdom of Tripoli, and between the citizens of the one, and the subjects of the other.

II. The government of the United States shall use their utmost exertions, so far as comports with their own honour and interest, their subsisting treaties, and the acknowledged law of nations, to re-establish the said Hamet Bashaw in the possession of his sovereignty of Tripoli, against the pretensions of Joseph Bashaw, who obtained said sovereignty by treason, and who now holds it by usurpation, and who is engaged in actual war against the United States.

III. The United States shall, as circumstances may require, in addition to the operations they are carrying on by sea, furnish the said Hamet Bashaw on loan, supplies of cash, ammunition, and provisions, and, if necessity require, debarkations of troops, also to aid and give effect to the operations of the said Hamet Bashaw by land against the common enemy.

IV. In consideration of which friendly offices, once rendered effectual, his highness Hamet Caramanly Bashaw engages, on his part, to release to the commander in chief of the forces of the United States, in the Mediterranean, without ransom, all American prisoners who are, or may hereafter be, in the hands of the usurper, said Joseph Bashaw.

V. In order to indemnify the United States against all expence they have or shall incur in carrying into execution their engagements expressed in the second and third articles of this convention, the said Hamet Bashaw transfers to and consigns to the United States the tribute stipulated by the last treaties of his majesty the king of Denmark, his majesty the king of Sweden, and the Batavian republic, as the condition of peace with the regency of Tripoli, until such time as said expence shall be reimbursed.

VI. In order to carry into full effect the stipulation expressed in the preceding article, said Hamet Bashaw pledges his faith and honour faithfully to observe and fulfil the treaties now subsisting between the regency of Tripoli and their majesties the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and with the Batavian republic.

VII. In consideration of the friendly disposition of his majesty the king of the two Sicilies towards the American squadron, his highness Hamet Bashaw invites his said Sicilian majesty to renew their ancient friendship,

and proffers him a peace on the footing of that to be definitively concluded with the United States of America, in the fullest extent of its privileges, according to the tenor of this convention.

VIII. The better to give effect to the operations to be carried on by land in the prosecution of the plan, and the attainment of the object pointed out by this convention, William Eaton, a citizen of the United States, now in Egypt, shall be recognized as general and commander in chief of the land forces which are or may be called into service against the common enemy. And his said highness Hamet Bashaw engages that his own subjects shall respect and obey him as such.

IX. His highness said Hamet Bashaw grants full amnesty and perpetual oblivion towards the conduct of all such of his subjects as may have been seduced by the usurper to abandon his cause, and who are disposed to return to their proper allegiance.

X. In case of future war between the contracting parties, captives on each side shall be treated as prisoners of war, and not as slaves, and shall be entitled to reciprocal and equal exchange, man for man, and grade for grade, and in no case shall a ransom be demanded for prisoners of war, nor a tribute required, as the condition of peace, neither on the one part nor on the other. All prisoners on both sides shall be given up at the conclusion of peace.

XI. The American consular flag in Tripoli shall for ever be a sacred asylum to all persons who shall desire to take refuge under it, except for the crimes of treason and murder.

XII. In case of the faithful observance and fulfilment on the part of his highness, said Hamet Bashaw, of the agreements and obligations herein stipulated, the said commander in chief of the American forces in the Mediterranean engages to leave said Hamet Bashaw in the peaceable possession of the city and regency without dismantling its batteries.

XIII. Any article suitable to be introduced in a definitive treaty of peace between the contracting parties, which may not be comprised in this convention, shall be reciprocally on the footing of the treaties subsisting with the most favoured nations.

XIV. This convention shall be submitted to the president of the United States, for his ratification. In the mean time there shall be no suspense in its operations.

Done at Alexandria, in Egypt, February 23, 1805,
and signed by said Hamet Bashaw for himself
and successors, and by William Eaton on the part
of the United States.

Additional article, secret.

His highness Hamet Bashaw will use his utmost exertions to cause to surrender to the commander in chief of the American forces in the Mediterranean the usurper Joseph Bashaw, together with his family, and chief admiral, called Maurad Rais, alias Peter Lisle, to be held by the government of the United States, as hostages, and a guarantee of the faithful observance of the stipulations entered into by convention of the 23d February, 1805, with the United States, provided they do not escape by flight.

Commodore Barron to William Eaton, Esq.

Malta, 22d March, 1805.

SIR,

By Captain Hull, who arrived in this harbour with the United States' brig Argus under his command, on the 10th instant, I received your favours addressed to me, together with communications for the secretary of the navy, and copies of the correspondence betwixt yourself and captain Hull, relative to your proceedings, from your arrival in Egypt until his departure from thence; also by the hands of Mahumed, secretary, a letter from his excellency Hamet Bashaw, announcing his junction with you, all which I have perused with an attention and deliberation which the important and interesting nature of their contents demands. I cannot but applaud the energy and perseverance that has characterized your progress through a series of perplexing and discouraging difficulties, to the attainment of the object of your research, an attainment which I am disposed to consider as a fair presage of future success.

On receipt of these communications by Captain Hull, I did not lose a moment in making the necessary arrangements for sending you succours, and I now dispatch the Argus brig, with the Hornet sloop under her convoy, carrying a variety of stores and provisions, according to the accompanying list. Captain Hull will shape his course for Bomba, direct, where he calculates on finding you, with the bashaw and his army, and where he supposes you will make a stand. I have directed him to deliver these stores to you, to be applied as your discretion may direct. He has also under his charge a sum in specie, amounting to 7,000 dollars, which is likewise to be placed at your disposal. By the time these vessels establish a communication with you, you will have been enabled to form a correct opinion as to the prospect of ultimate success, and thence to estimate the advantages likely to result to our affairs from this co-operation, and by this opinion you must be guided in the application of the succours. Should you have encountered difficulties and obstacles, which place the chances of success upon more than precarious ground, your own prudence will suggest the propriety of not committing these supplies, and the money, uncontroledly to the power of the bashaw: indeed, in the point of view in which I regard the measures already pursued, as well as the subject of co-operation generally, I conceive we ought to tread with the utmost caution. It is far from my wish, sir, to damp your ardour, or that of your companions in arms, by laying too great a stress upon the cold maxims of prudence, whereby the tide of success is often lost; something, I am aware, should always be left to fortune, in enterprises of this nature; but I must own there are certain things expressed in your dispatches, which, when brought to the test of my instructions from home, give birth to feelings of doubt and uneasiness; these I deem it incumbent on me to point out to you with candour and explicitness, in order that we may be fully understood. You must be sensible that, in giving their sanction to a co-operation with the exiled bashaw, government did not contemplate the measure as leading, necessarily and absolutely, to a reinstatement of that prince in his rights to the regency of Tripoli. They appear to have viewed the co-operation in question as a means which, if there existed energy and enterprise in the exile, and attachment to his person on the part of his former subjects, might be employed to the common furtherance and advantage of his claims and our cause, but without meaning to fetter themselves by any specific and definite attainment as an end, which the tenor of my instructions, and the limited sum appropriated for that special purpose, clearly demonstrate.

I fear, by the convention you were about to enter into with Hamet, and by the complexion of other measures, that a wider range may have been taken than is consistent with the powers vested in me for that particular object. These apprehensions may perhaps prove groundless, on further representations from you ; but, under my present impressions, I feel it my duty to state explicitly, that I must withhold my sanction to any convention or agreement committing the United States, or intending to impress on Hamet Bashaw a conviction that *we have bound ourselves* to place him upon the throne. The consequences involved in such an engagement cannot but strike you forcibly, and a general view of our situation, in relation to the reigning bashaw and our unfortunate countrymen in Tripoli will be sufficient to mark its inexpediency. I shall consider it my duty, as it is certainly my inclination, to afford you every aid compatible with the authority vested in me, and commensurate with the means which have been placed at my disposal, and you may rely on the most active and vigorous support from the squadron, as soon as the season and our arrangements will permit us to appear in force before the enemy's walls ; but I wish you to understand that no guarantee or engagement to the exiled prince, whose cause, I must repeat, we are only favouring as an instrument to our advantage, and not as an end in itself, must be held to stand in the way of our acquiescence to any honourable and advantageous terms of accommodation which the reigning bashaw may be induced to propose : such terms being once offered, and accepted by the representative of government appointed to treat of peace, our support to the ex-bashaw must necessarily cease. You will not, however, conceive these considerations, important and necessary as they are, ought to induce us at once to abandon the benefits, which the measures you have adopted seem to promise.

I conceive a perseverance in these, by no means incompatible with a total freedom from any trammels, with respect to a definite object ; which freedom I deem it all important to preserve, especially when I view the peculiar situation in which captain Bainbridge and his fellow-sufferers may be placed by this co-operation. If by your energy and exertions, added to the supplies now sent forward, you succeed in getting possession of Derne and Bengazi, we may calculate, that having received this impulse from our strength, the bashaw will, himself, possess sufficient energy, courage, and talents, and, if accounts are correct, sufficient interest among the people, to move on with firm steps, and to conduct his friends and followers to the gates of Tripoli. Every support will, of course, be given to him by a systematic union of operations with the squadron, so as to enable him to get in the rear of the town ; but should he be found deficient in those qualities, or that it appears we have been deceived in regard to the disposition of the inhabitants, he must be held as an unfit subject for further support or co-operation. I beg leave to mention to you, that as we are short of officers, the services of all will be wanting on board the respective ships, as soon as we enter upon offensive measures. Should you conceive, however, that any serious disadvantage may result from withdrawing those with you, I have no objection to their remaining as volunteers ; but it is impossible for me to comply with your requisition for a hundred marines to be sent to the coast. Such a step, in the present posture of affairs, far exceeds my powers, and, besides, as we are rather short of hands, I could not feel myself justifiable in detaching so considerable a force from the squadron. I have not been unmindful of your requisition for field artillery, which I think with you is essential, but here it was impossible to procure it ; I therefore dispatched, some days since, the Congress frigate to Messina, where I hope to obtain four field pieces complete for service, and, as soon as they arrive, they will be sent to the coast with the necessary ammunition. As I am still too unwell to write you

with my own hand, I must refer you to captain Hull, in whose judgment and discretion I have the fullest confidence, for information on several collateral points, and for my sentiments on others.

In this letter I have endeavoured to explain, as clearly as possible, what are my ideas with respect to the wishes and intentions of our government, and what I feel to be the extent of my authority, relative to the co-operation with Hamet Bashaw. I reiterate my fixed resolution to afford to you every support and assistance which are consistent with the powers and resources vested in me, adding, at the same time, my dissent from any guarantee, covenant, or engagement, by which the United States may stand committed, to place the exiled prince on the throne, or any condition which militates against the most perfect and uncontrouled power of choice and action, in concluding a pacification with Jussuff Bashaw, should he offer terms honourable and advantageous to our country.

I should be wanting in justice to you, sir, as well as to the officers who have shared thus far your toils and dangers, were I not to express my full reliance upon your courage, energy, and perseverance, as well as my ardent desire that your most sanguine expectations may be realized. The observations which I here convey to you are far from being intended to cool your zeal or discourage your expectations, but they are what I conceive it necessary to make, and drawn from me by the purest feeling of duty, and, as such, permit me to recommend them to your calm and candid consideration, and I request that you will make them the subject of conversation with captain Hull, who is fully possessed of my sentiments.

COPY.

From Commodore Barron, to the Secretary of the Navy.

Malta, 6th April, 1805.

SIR,

Having, in my respects of yesterday, given a full account of the present disposal of the squadron under my command, and whatever had occurred worthy of notice since my preceding dispatches, I have now the honour to lay before you a sketch of Mr. Eaton's transactions in Egypt, and the measures which have been in consequence thereof adopted. The accompanying communications from that gentleman to the navy department, joined with copies of those addressed to me, and the collateral correspondence between captain Hull and him, to all which I beg leave to refer you minutely, will afford you a wide view of the subject, whilst it precludes the necessity of lengthy comments from me. You will there perceive the many and unforeseen difficulties which Mr. Eaton met with in finding the ex-bashaw, who had joined the fortunes of the mamelukes. You will be apprised of the situation in which matters stood at the departure of the *Argus* from Alexandria, on the 19th of February, and the plan which he chalked out to pursue the intended co-operation with Hamet. On receipt of these advices I made immediate arrangements to send such part of the succours requested by the bashaw and Mr. Eaton as could be procured here, and as I considered myself authorised by my instructions to afford; and captain Hull sailed again on the 26th ultimo, in the *Argus*, with the *Hornet* sloop (the same which I mentioned having purchased) under convoy, carrying a supply of money, provisions, &c. He directed his course for Bomba, a place about sixty miles to the eastward of Derne, where, as you will collect from the papers inclosed, he confidently expected to open

a communication with the bashaw and his followers. Such, sir, is the present situation of the business.

I am well aware that you will feel an anxiety to know my opinion with regard to the probable success of this co-operation; but until I have further intelligence and more data to go by, it were improper to hazard a conjecture. In perusing the letters from Mr. Eaton, and weighing the nature and consequences of certain measures in his contemplation, I must own that I have felt some uneasiness, arising out of a fear that he has taken a wider scope in his engagements to the bashaw than is compatible with the ideas and intentions of government; or with the authority vested in me, as relates to the subject of co-operation. I have stated this apprehension in a communication to Mr. Eaton, in which I have also explained, in precise terms, my own ideas, and how far I conceived he might proceed, without committing himself or the country. A copy of my letter will be found annexed. I feel confident that the sentiments there expressed, and the principles laid down, with respect to the plan in question, will meet your approbation.

From the concurring information, principally from persons well acquainted with the bashaw, which I have recently received of his character and conduct, I confess that my hopes from a co-operation with him are less sanguine than they were. Perhaps, however, I may shortly have reason to raise my expectations to their former standard; but till something occurs to justify the belief that he possesses more courage, energy, and talent, than those who appear to know him well give him credit for, it would be reprehensible to flatter myself or the government with prospects which the result may disappoint. I am equally at a loss to calculate the effects of this co-operation upon the mind of the reigning bashaw; a short time will throw light upon this interesting point. In the mean while, I cannot conceal from you my candid opinion, that from the obstinacy hitherto evinced by Jussuff Bashaw, and the pertinacity of character, not unmingled with bravery and other qualities belonging to a soldier, added to the natural advantages of his situation, the contest promises to be more arduous than was at first anticipated. Our co-operation with Hamet may, and in all probability will, induce him either to offer us terms at once; or, finding his dominions menaced and his life endangered, to put every thing to the hazard of war. In the latter case we may naturally conclude that his resistance will not only be obstinate but desperate. I look with anxiety for the return of the vessel which sailed a few days since for Tripoli, with supplies for the prisoners; she will undoubtedly bring important intelligence.

The ex-bashaw's secretary of state, whom you will find mentioned in Mr. Eaton's correspondence, returned in the *Argus* to join his master. He appeared to be a sensible, discreet old man; he brought me a letter from the bashaw, a translation of which, with a copy of my answer, is attached to the accompanying papers.

Commodore Barron to William Eaton, Esq.

Malta, 15th April, 1805.

SIR,

I had the honour of addressing you very fully on the 22d ult. by captain Hull; since when I have received no advices from the Barbary coast. It was not till the 13th inst. that the Congress arrived here from Messina with the field artillery, which captain Decatur experienced considerable delay and difficulty in procuring. It was my intention to have sent that frigate to

the coast, but, on making particular inquiry of a pilot well acquainted in that quarter, I find that the impracticability of approaching the shore with heavy vessels renders the communication extremely uncertain and difficult. I have therefore thought it prudent to wave my original intention, and to dispatch the Nautilus schooner, whose light draught of water will enable her to approach the coast with greater safety and advantage. Captain Dent shapes his course for Bomba, where I calculate he will find you with the bashaw and army, and where I hope he will have little difficulty in establishing an intercourse. He has on board his schooner two brass field pieces, with trains, powder, shot, &c. complete, which he is directed to deliver to your possession. I hope they will reach you safe, and have no doubt but they will be found extremely serviceable in the progress of your operations. Nothing material has occurred since captain Hull's departure. The harbour of Tripoli remains closely blockaded. The President frigate sailed this day to reinforce the vessels already on that station. Captain Dent is instructed, after delivering the artillery and stores, to return immediately to this port with dispatches from you. You will readily imagine my anxiety to hear of your proceedings and prospects.

I am, respectfully, &c.

(Signed)

S. BARRON.

Extract of a Letter from William Eaton to Commodore Barron, dated

Derne, April 20, 1805.

The information I have the honour to forward of this date, stating, in abstract, occurrences since my last, will not disappoint the expectations my calculations there may have formed. Certain periods of your letter of the 22d ult. require a distinct and separate answer. This I shall do with candour.

It was understood, when government came to a determination to try the effect of a co-operation with Hamet Bashaw against the enemy, that provision would be made adequate to the experiment; six field pieces, a thousand stand of arms, with suitable ammunition, and eighty thousand dollars, were asked for by Hamet Bashaw, while yet in possession of this province, and gaining ground against the usurper. The secretary of the navy informed me that the arms, ammunition, and fifty thousand dollars would be furnished, and they were to have been put on board at Hampton Roads, while the squadron were getting ready for sea. Information arrived of the bashaw having been driven from his post, and retired to Egypt. In consequence of which it is presumed the supplies getting in readiness were withheld, as the success of the experiment then appeared very doubtful. The twenty thousand dollars deposited with the consul general at Algiers, to be applied to this service, cannot be supposed adequate to the purpose of bringing the bashaw from his castle in Egypt, placing him in a situation to act against a rival, possessed of all the resources of his kingdom, and carrying his plan of operations into effect, whatever may have been the dispositions of the people towards him. The twenty thousand dollars, therefore, could have been meant only to assist the research of the bashaw, and the revival of his affairs, in case our plan should be thought feasible. Hence I think it not presuming too far to conclude, that the unlimited discretion vested in the commander in chief, in regard to all the exigencies of the war, and particularly as it relates to the object in view, extends to every matter necessary to its accomplishment. The instructions to the secretary of the navy certainly cannot mean to tie him down to any limited applications.

The advantages calculated to result from the success of this measure have heretofore been stated, and thus far the experiment has not disappointed these calculations. We are in possession of the most valuable province of Tripoli; the high estimation the enemy places on this department of the kingdom is evidenced by the extraordinary efforts he has used to defend it, and by the menaces to which he has resorted to deter us from the operations here; his camp was only fourteen hours' march from the place, when we seized it by assault. I am this evening informed they are retreating, and only regret we have not the means of pursuing them. The expences already incurred in this expedition will amount to nearly thirty thousand dollars; for thirteen thousand of which we are indebted to Messrs. Briggs and Brothers, of Alexandria; eleven thousand have been received through the hands of captain Hull, including his advance and drafts in Egypt; I have disbursed nearly two thousand, and for the residue shall be indebted to individuals. This expence will not appear extravagant when it is considered that it covers all our expenditures in Egypt, where many sacrifices were necessary to pass the barriers of Turkish jealousy and avidity, in getting the bashaw through that country; of furnishing horses, tents, arms, and ammunition, preparatory to our entering the desert; of provisioning a thousand two hundred souls, and about two hundred horses, in that barren desert, upwards of forty days, a distance of nearly five hundred miles, and of caravans for transporting these provisions the whole distance from Alexandria, and also the unavoidable expenditures in presents to chiefs, and payments to troops, in order to gain the one, and avail ourselves of the services of the other.

May 1.—The situation in which it is known Hamet Bashaw was found in Upper Egypt must of itself suggest the idea that he must be destitute of all means of moving a military expedition, except the attachment of his subjects. The possession of this province does not materially alter that situation. The general failure of the harvest, which the whole coast of Barbary experienced last season, together with the extraordinary tributes which Jussuff Bashaw has exacted to support the war, has rendered not only this, but every other part of Tripoli poor and oppressed, wholly destitute of contributing any thing very considerable to either of the rival brothers. This is a circumstance favourable to our measures, if we will go to the expence of profiting of it. No chief, whatever may be the attachment of his followers, can long support military operations without the means of subsisting and paying his troops. The observation is peculiarly applicable to the temper and circumstances of the Arabs of this country, who, in fact, form its real strength; who are poor, yet avaricious, and who, being accustomed to despotism, are generally indifferent about the name or person of their despot, provided he imposes no new burdens. Stronger proof of this cannot be brought than the difficulty Jussuff Bashaw's camp has found in recruiting in its progress from Tripoli. It left there long since with about two hundred men.

I have, this morning, intercepted six letters from that camp, dated only four days since, signed by the commander in chief, the governor of Bengazi, and aid de camp, addressed to the governor of Derne, and to several chiefs or shieks, encouraging them to hope and perseverance, and stating that their delay has only been occasioned by expectations of receiving reinforcements from the Arab tribes. They have increased their number only three hundred, though they have passed through that part of the country nearest and most nearly attached to the enemy. Hamet Bashaw brought two thousand Arabs into the field on the 27th. This serves to show the weight of money with these people, and as a pretty good criterion of the balance of influence between the two bashaws. With the aids contemplated by government to have been furnished Hamet Bashaw,

